

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

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# THE ARENA

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## LAW AND HUMAN PROGRESS.

PROGRESS is the law of life. Of the three learned professions, medicine has been completely revolutionized in the last few years. There are even those who believe that there has been some progress in theology; but the masses think that *law* is the one stationary, unmoving, and immovable thing in all creation, and that precedents bind judges and lawyers to the past, hand and foot. The law, however, has not been able wholly to escape the influence of the age in which we live, and in a great degree is a sure record of the progress of civilization.

As to the progress of constitutional law, it is sufficient to point to the numerous new State constitutions (or radical amendments thereto), which average it is said one in every twenty years for each State in the Union. As to the Federal Constitution it is true the alterations have been much slower, as much too slow in fact as it may be the changes in the State constitutions have been too frequent. In New York the State constitution imperatively requires that the question of calling a constitutional convention shall be submitted to the people every twenty years, and permits this to be done oftener if the legislature shall think proper. This being so in the "effete East," we cannot expect that such changes should be more infrequent in the progressive West.

As to the Federal Constitution, many causes have combined to prevent changes that the necessities of the time really require, with the result that that instrument has become antiquated and in many respects unsuitable for the demands of the present day. If the Constitution of 1787 had been admirable in all respects and altogether perfect when adopted, the immense changes in population, in territory, in public conditions, and in the needs of this generation, would make it ill adapted in some respects for our purposes to-day. It would be strange indeed if the men of one hundred and fifteen years ago, when popular government was new and untried and the environments of the times were totally different, could have made a better Constitution for us than we with more than a century of experience could now make for ourselves. Some would make of the Constitution of 1787 a fetish, but it was the work of that day just as were the State constitutions, and it is no more sacred than they, all of which have been materially changed. There is a wide difference between the Union that the makers of the Constitution intended should be perpetual and the Constitution itself, which provided for its own amendment either by Congressional action or the call of a constitutional convention, thus recognizing its imperfections and that the progress of time would necessitate unknown changes.

When the Federal Constitution was adopted it was not considered by its makers as perfect or entirely adapted even to the needs of that day. In all its leading features it was a compromise, and therefore not expressive in its entirety of the wishes of a majority of the Convention that made it. It was passed with closed doors and without the benefit of an expression of public opinion. It was not submitted to the votes of the people in a single State. It was accepted with great hesitation by the Thirteen States, which in their ratifications suggested altogether over one hundred amendments, ten of which were in fact passed by the first Congress, and being ratified by the requisite number of States became a part of that venerable instrument. An eleventh amendment protecting the States against an assumption of power by the Federal Supreme Court

was submitted by Congress as early as 1794, and was promptly ratified by the States. The Presidential election in 1801 showed another dangerous defect in the organic instrument, which was imperfectly patched up by the twelfth amendment in 1803, as subsequent events have shown. Three other amendments followed in the wake of the great Civil War.

When the Federal Constitution was adopted at Philadelphia we had three millions of people scattered along the Atlantic slope. We are now trying to make it do duty for eighty millions—from Florida to Alaska, from Maine to California. Whether it also applies to Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines is a question we are now trying to find out, and that recently evoked nine dissenting opinions in a single case in the highest Federal court at Washington. In 1787 our population was mostly rural; for three years later, in 1790, we had but five towns in the whole country with as many as 6,500 inhabitants each. We then had 75 post-offices, with \$37,000 annual post-office receipts. We have now over one thousand times as many post-offices and more than one hundred million of post-office expenditures. During the first ten years of our national government the total expenses of the government averaged, including payment of revolutionary debts, ten millions annually. Now they are considerably more than fifty times as much. We have two States the population of each of which is double that of the whole Union at the time of the adoption of our Constitution. Steam, railroads, gas, electricity, and a thousand other inventions and discoveries have profoundly modified the life and customs of the people, and governmental requirements and dangers are totally different from what they were in 1787. The power of colossal aggregations of wealth was then inconceivable and trusts were then unheard of. Corporations were almost unknown. The first bank in the Union was not chartered till four years after the adoption of the Constitution, and the second bank was smuggled into existence only by the ingenuity of Aaron Burr, who had it incorporated as a water company. If it had been a railroad or a trust company this might have been more intelligible to us.

So far was the instrument when adopted from being satisfactory even at that date, that out of the small Constitutional Convention of 55 members only 39 concurred in the final result. Its proper construction has been a matter of perpetual debate on the hustings, in Congress, and in the courts, and some provisions have required a power greater than the courts to decide their meaning. But, had the Constitution been constructed with the wisdom and the unanimity we would fain believe, the vast changes that have taken place in the more than a hundred years that have since passed—changes that no mortal wisdom could have foreseen—have made it a *misfit*. These changes have in no wise affected the necessity of a Federal Union and the great features that make the government of the Union supreme in matters affecting all the States, while leaving each State sovereign in those local matters which concern its own government. But it has made the Constitution in other respects ill adapted for the purposes for which it was ordained.

The Constitution has been subject to the law of progress and of change, aside from the amendments that have been submitted and ratified by the necessary number of States. By judicial construction meaning has been written into the Constitution in many matters that were not in contemplation by the makers of that instrument. In some instances these amendments by judicial construction were necessitated by the progress of thought, the evolution of the age, and the changed condition of the people. But there are radical changes that have been made therein by the silent pressure of public opinion, without aid from Congress or the courts. When the Federal Constitution was adopted, of the three departments, legislative, executive, and judicial, direct control was given to the people of only one-sixth of the government, to wit, one-half of the Legislature; for the lower house of Congress was the only body chosen by the people. The Senate was made elective at second hand through the State legislatures; the Executive was to be chosen at second hand through a body of electors selected for that purpose, and it was contemplated that in fact the Executive should be chosen at third hand, as the electors



were originally elected by the State legislatures; and the judiciary and Cabinet officers were selected at fourth hand by the Executive, subject to ratification by the Senate. The government was thus removed from the direct action of public opinion as far as could possibly be the case in a republic. At that time education was not general and popular government was a new experiment. There were many misgivings as to the capacity of the people to govern themselves. In only one State was the Governor then elected by the people; in most if not all of them the upper house of the general assembly and usually both houses were elected by a restricted suffrage, and in none was the judiciary chosen by popular vote. This state of things was reflected in the Federal Constitution, of course, and in form at least remains unchanged in that instrument, though in these respects there have been great changes in the constitutions of the several States.

Though no changes in these matters have been made in the Federal Constitution by constitutional amendment or judicial construction, there has been none the less great alteration by the practical operation of public opinion and other causes. The election of the President has been changed to a direct election by the people by the simple process of treating the electors as figureheads and electing them in the several States at the ballot-box instead of through the State legislatures. As late as the great contest between Adams, Jackson, Clay, and Crawford in 1824, the electors were still chosen in a majority of the States by their legislatures. This was soon changed as one of the results of that contest, though the electors in South Carolina were still chosen in that manner down to the Civil War. Indeed the Presidential electors were chosen by the legislature in Colorado in 1876. A similar change has been made as to the election of Senators in many of the States by requiring primary elections for Senators or by pledging candidates for the legislature and in other methods. A constitutional amendment to give the election of United States Senators directly to the people and to dispense with the legislatures as Senatorial electors has repeatedly passed the lower house of Congress, but its in-

evitable passage has been thus far defeated by what might be termed the indecent and defiant disregard of public sentiment by the Senate itself.

In another respect the Constitution has been practically amended, but in a much less desirable respect by the pressure of necessity. In the beginning, when there were only 75 postmasters, it was contemplated and the Constitution required that they should be appointed by the President or head of the Department. With more than a thousand times that number of postmasters this has become impossible. Postmasters are now selected in a manner not authorized by that instrument. In practise they are necessarily selected by the members of Congress or by political bosses. Except in rare instances the President and the Postmaster-General can do no more than take the recommendation of the member from the district or other leading politicians of their party. As the constitutional provision is practically a dead letter there is no reason why by amendment to the Constitution the postmasters should not be chosen by districts laid off around their respective post-offices at the same time and in the same manner that members of Congress are elected.

Probably the most serious defect in the Federal Constitution is the retention unaltered of the mode for the selection of the Federal Judges at third hand through the instrumentality of the Executive and the Senate, and for life. In truth no provision could be more undemocratic than the manner of selecting these important officials and their life tenure. They are chosen in a manner that entirely negatives any expression of public opinion, and that permits their selection by powerful influences that usually have ready access to the appointing power. This is an anomaly in a country whose government is based upon the principle that it exists only by the consent of the governed. The power that has been assumed and maintained by the judiciary to set aside the action of the legislative and executive departments was unknown when the Constitution was adopted, and it has become vitally necessary, if such power shall remain, as is probable, in the judiciary, that the

judiciary shall at least be selected by the same element that chooses the Federal Legislature; otherwise the will of the people is at the mercy of officials who are under no control and are not selected by the popular will. It is due mainly to the high personal character of most of the gentlemen who have occupied the Federal Bench that this anachronism has not met with a stronger and more universal demand for its removal. The fact that nearly every State in the Union has made its judiciary elective by the people proves that the mature judgment and the deliberate will of the people of the United States upon this subject are well-nigh overwhelming. In 1787 there might well be ground, when popular government was itself a novelty, and when only one-sixth of the government was committed to popular election (the lower house of Congress), for hesitating to intrust the election of the Federal judiciary to the people. But now, with the experience of more than a century behind us and especially in view of incidents fresh in the minds of all, there are many reasons why the Federal judges should not be selected otherwise than by the people themselves, nor hold by different tenure from those who administer justice in the State courts. If the people can be trusted with the selection of one set of judges they certainly can be with the other. There can be no practical difficulty since the district judges can be chosen by the voters of their respective districts, the circuit judges by the people of their circuits, and the Supreme Court Judges either for circuits or by vote of the Union at large.

As far back as 1822, Mr. Jefferson, in his memorable letter to Mr. Barry, expressed the opinion that the Constitution should be amended by making the Federal Judges elective by the people, and that they should hold for a term of years and not for life. Nor is there any reason why the United States district-attorneys should not be made elective by the people of their respective districts.

There are other changes in the Federal Constitution that the popular will would probably require could we have a National Constitutional Convention to make that instrument more in accord with popular government and better to adapt

it to the changed condition of the country and the requirements of the age. The same causes that have from time to time required changes in the State constitutions now still more imperatively require it in the Federal organic law, because of the slowness with which it has responded to the needs of the times. The growth of education, the greater capacity of the people for self-government, and the confidence they have acquired in themselves from experience, and the vast changes in the environment of the times and in all the conditions of life make it clear that the eighteenth-century Constitution under which we live requires many modifications before it can be adapted to the needs of the twentieth century. Conservative as the legal profession is and always has been, we must admit this much; and the sole cause why the needed amendments have not been made or a constitutional convention called, it must be confessed, is the lingering feeling expressed by Hamilton and his followers at Philadelphia—that the people could not be safely trusted with their own government. The experience of more than a century has demonstrated the fallacy of his fears, and that this great American people is capable of governing itself; and indeed there are many who think that we are capable also of governing millions of people whom we have never seen, and of whom we know very little beyond the fact that we are stronger than they.

#### PROGRESS IN THE COMMON AND STATUTORY LAW.

The enormous changes that have been made in the Common Law by judicial construction or by statutory enactment are such that even the leading features could not be summed up in a volume. The general features of the Common Law of England as then modified by statute have never been better or more elegantly stated than by Mr. Justice Blackstone in his Commentaries, written something over a century and a quarter ago. A brief comparison with English law as it stands to-day and as it was when Blackstone wrote will show that scarcely a shred of the law as it then stood is now in force in England

We have been accustomed to speak of the Common Law of England as the perfection of human reason; in truth it was the conception of our barbarous ancestors modified and changed from time to time by the progress of civilization and by borrowing much, usually without acknowledgment, from the Civil Law. An eminent lawyer (the Hon. James C. Carter, of New York) has thus characterized it:

"In the old volumes of the Common Law we find Knight service, value and forfeiture of marriage, and ravishment of wards; aids to marry Lords' daughters and make Lords' sons knights. We find primer seisin, escuage and monstrans of right; we find feuds and subinfeudations, linking the whole community together in one graduated chain of servile dependence; we find all the strange doctrines of tenures, down to the abject state of villenage and even that abject condition treated as a franchise. We find estates held by the blowing of a horn. In short we find a jumble of rude, undigested usages and maxims of successive hordes of semi-savages, who, from time to time, invaded and prostrated each other. The first of whom were pagans, and knew nothing of divine laws; the last of whom came upon English soil when long tyranny and cruel ravages had destroyed every vestige of ancient science and when the Pandects, from which the truest light has been shed upon English law, lay buried in the earth. When Blackstone, who held a professor's chair and a salary for praising the Common Law, employs his elegant style to whiten sepulchers and varnish such incongruities, it is like the Knight of La Mancha extolling the beauty and graces of his broad-backed mistress 'winnowing her wheat or riding her ass.'"

The same writer further pertinently asks: "When is it that we shall cease to invoke the spirits of departed fools? When is it that in the search of the rule of our conduct we shall no longer be banded from Coke to Croke, from Plowden to the Year Books, thence to the Domes-Day Books, from *ignotum* to *ignotius* in the inverse ratio of philosophy and reason—still at the end of every weary excursion arriving at some barren source of pedantry and quibble?"

Probably the most succinct method in which to indicate not only the progress but the almost complete revolution that has

taken place in the law is to compare the status of the law on a few well-known subjects in England to-day with what it was one hundred years ago in that country; for in our forty-five States and our Territories we have in the main made similar changes, sometimes anticipating and sometimes following the legal reforms, as made from time to time in the mother country. First as to

#### THE CRIMINAL LAW.

In the year 1800 there were more than two hundred crimes in England that were punishable with death, of which more than two-thirds had been made capital offenses during the eighteenth century. Nearly all felonies were capital. As a late English writer says:

"If a man falsely pretended to be a Greenwich pensioner he was hanged. If he injured a county bridge or cut down a young tree he was hanged. If he forged a bank note he was hanged. If he stole property valued at five shillings; if he stole anything above the value of one shilling from the person; if he stole anything at all, whatever its value, from a bleaching ground—he was hanged. If a convict returned prematurely from transportation; or if a soldier or a sailor wandered about the country begging without a pass, he was hanged. And these barbarous laws were relentlessly carried into execution. A boy only ten years old was sentenced to death in 1816."

It is owing to Sir Samuel Romilly and later to Sir James Mackintosh that the death penalty is now imposed in England for only four offenses, and very rarely in two of those. Similar, and in some States even greater, changes have been made in this country.

A traitor was drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, was hung by the neck but cut down alive, and his bowels were taken out and burnt before his face; then his head was severed and his body divided into four quarters and placed over the gates of cities to poison the atmosphere. Not until 1870 were these horrid requirements abrogated by statute, and they were pronounced (though not carried out) on Frost the Chartist as



late as 1839. We all remember how, on the Restoration, the body of the greatest sovereign England has ever had was dug from its grave and the head exposed on Temple Bar. These were not the doings of Chinese Boxers, but of enlightened Christian England. Just about the beginning of the nineteenth century the punishment of woman for high treason, which till then was by burning, was changed to hanging. In 1811 Lord Eldon was greatly alarmed by "a dangerous bill," as he termed it, which abolished capital punishment for stealing five shillings in a shop, and prided himself greatly upon defeating this revolutionary measure in the House of Lords. In 1812, when Bellingham was put on trial for the murder of Spencer Perceval, he was informed that one charged with a capital offense was not allowed to have counsel to speak for him, and he had to defend himself. The humane law in England not only prohibited argument by counsel to one on trial for his life, but he could neither have process to summon witnesses in his own behalf nor be allowed to cross-examine the witnesses against him. Bellingham shot Mr. Perceval, the Prime Minister, late on Monday, May 11; he was put on trial Friday, the 15th, and was hanged the following Monday, the 18th; and his body was ordered to be dissected. When the law in the above particulars was somewhat modified in 1836, 12 out of the 15 judges protested, and one of them wrote a letter to Sir John Campbell, then Attorney-General, that if he allowed the bill to pass he would resign. The bill passed, but the learned judge did not resign. Juries were not allowed to separate on trials for felonies or treason, and were locked up "without meat, drink, or fire." This produced the poet's taunt—"and wretches hang, that jurymen may dine." This law was not changed till 1870.

The rules of evidence in both civil and criminal cases disqualified as witnesses not only parties to the action but all who had been convicted of crime or who had a pecuniary interest in the result of the trial. Lord Denman's Act in 1843 struck the first blow at this absurd rule, which had caused so many miscarriages of justice. That Act has since been extended in Eng-

land by Lord Brougham's Act of 1869, and both, I believe, have been since adopted in all the States of this Union.

We recall the magnificent service rendered by Lord Erskine, when at the bar, in maintaining before Lord Mansfield that the question whether a publication was a libel was one of fact for the jury and not of law—a proposition that was enacted by Parliament in 1792; but it was not until 1843 that Lord Campbell's Act allowed the truth of a publication to be pleaded as justification. Till then the courts held the very lucid proposition, "The greater the truth the greater the libel," and punished the offender accordingly.

It was not till 1819 that trials by battle ceased to be legal, though they had fallen into disuse. Thornton's case, in which this barbarous right was invoked, occurred in 1818. There is some progress from that time to this, when no Governor will now allow two gentlemen of national distinction to box in the arena, even without weapons, unless possibly when they are members of the Legislature. It seems to me I have also heard that such diversion was recognized in the Senate of the United States as late as 1902.

Space will not permit me to go into many other ameliorations in the criminal law, including the vast improvements in the jails, which were formerly nurseries of vice and nests of typhus fever.

#### CIVIL PROCEDURE.

As to civil procedure, there was not only the distinction between law and equity, and three different Superior Courts of Common Law at Westminster, but there were the various "forms of action" from among which a plaintiff had to guess which suited his case. If he guessed wrong, he was non-suited and had to pay the defendant's costs as well as his own, no matter how plain it was that he should have recovered on the merits if he had guessed correctly. The court in such case would never tell the plaintiff whether he had a cause of action or not on his facts, nor what form of action was proper, but would simply leave him to guess again. It was only by a

costly process of elimination that a plaintiff could certainly determine what was his proper legal remedy. The other technicalities and legal fictions were numerous and rigidly adhered to.

Down to 1802, I think, the three Superior Courts of Common Law and the Court of Equity were all held in the great hall of William Rufus, within a few feet of each other, on the same pavement, without partitions. I have visited the historic room, and wondered at the mental attitude of great lawyers who held tenaciously to the idea that the distinction between law and equity was something foreordained in the very nature of things, indispensable, and in some indefinable way connected with the maintenance of our liberties. Yet that system would permit a man to obtain a judgment, as a sacred right, in one spot in that great hall, when a few feet away another court was sitting, within hearing, and without any wall to obstruct the view that would hold him an unconscionable rogue if he should offer to enforce his judgment, and would lay him by the heels if he attempted to do so.

And even on the law side of the docket a royal commission reported, so late as 1831, "there is at present no authentic enumeration of all the forms of action." So doubtful were even the most experienced lawyers as to the limits of the different forms of actions that it is said that old Judge Cowen, of the New York Supreme Court, died in the belief that we had "not yet sounded the depths of trespass on the case;" and the great Judge Story was possessed of the belief that equity could reform a policy of insurance.

It is little more than fifty years since the movement began that in England and in most of her colonies, and in the greater part of the United States, has swept away the distinction (so far as procedure goes) between law and equity, and between the forms of action, and has substituted one form of action in which the plaintiff shall plainly and intelligently, without undue repetition, state his ground of action and the defendant shall reply in the same way, so that the case shall be tried on its merits and in a business-like way. It was unavoidable that the

new system should be intrusted for its workings at first to judges and lawyers who had grown up under the old system of technicalities under which form was more important than the substance of legal proceedings. It was another instance of "putting new wine in old bottles." But the reform has made its way, and now by the evolution of time the administration of the Code system, wherever it has been adopted, is in the hands of its friends. In some States it has not yet been adopted, and in others only in a modified form.

Each State that has adopted the Reformed Procedure naturally thinks it has the best. In fact, however, England, ultra-conservative as it is, has the simplest and most advanced system. There Parliament simply abolished the old courts and distinctions in forms of actions and between law and equity, and authorized the single new court that was established to prepare rules to regulate procedure. This has been done in a most admirable manner. It is doubtful if a simpler and more logical procedure could be framed than that which now obtains in the mother country.

#### LABOR LEGISLATION.

The Statutes of Laborers 23 Ed. III., passed by a Parliament of landowners soon after the scourge called the Black Death had reduced the number of laborers, provided: "Every man and woman in England, free or bond, able in body and within threescore years, not exercising craft nor having of his own whereon to live, nor land to till, nor serving any other, shall be bound to serve such person as shall require him, at the wages heretofore accustomed to be given." If he refused he was to be committed to prison, and there was a penalty for paying or receiving more than the wages previously given. This was to prevent workmen from raising their wages on account of the scarcity of, and greater demand for, labor. This benevolent statute was not repealed in England till 1863. So, it seems, "paternalism" is not a new thing and is only objectionable when it favors the class it formerly repressed. Repeated statutes subsequently empowered justices of the peace to fix rates for

wages and inflicted penalties on any laborer asking or receiving more. These statutes were followed by a strong enactment in 1800 prohibiting any combination among workingmen to raise wages and denouncing labor unions as conspiracies, punishable by imprisonment. As a well-known English lawyer writes, "To speak of contracts between master and workmen at this time (1800) is a misnomer, for there was no assent of will on the part of the workman or any real power to negotiate as to the terms of his so-called contract."

For the last century there has been a struggle carried on by the labor element, both in this country and in England, until they have reached their present status. I need not describe what that is now nor how far it is from satisfying the demands of labor; but it is enough merely to refer to the state of the law on this important subject one hundred years ago to indicate to the most careless observation that on this subject there has been marked progress in the law. Down to 1871 labor unions were illegal in England, and their members were often prosecuted for and convicted of conspiracy. The Trades-Union Act of 1871 legalized such unions, but the Act was amended and broadened as late as 1896. Nor till 1875 did it cease to be a criminal offense for a workman to break his contract of employment.

The statutes in England and this country restricting the hours of labor and fixing an age under which children cannot be allowed to labor in mines or factories are all the product of the last thirty years. Most of them, indeed, have existed only during the last dozen years, and there are a few States of the Union that have not yet reached that stage of justice, enlightenment, and humanity. In England a recent statute regulates the number of hours of employment of clerks and others in stores ("shops," as they are called there), and likewise, in common with some States of the Union, the English Act of 1899 requires that seats shall be furnished female employees in all mercantile establishments.

The doctrine of non-liability of the master for injury to a servant caused by negligence of a fellow-servant, laid down in

*Priestly v. Fowler*, and the doctrine of assumption of risk have been materially modified by sundry recent statutes in favor of employees, in England and in many of our States; while legislation requiring automatic car-couplers and hand-holds on cars used by interstate railroads shows that the laboring element have had some recognition of their existence even by Congress, in spite of the powerful corporation lobby that haunts the halls of the Federal Legislature. Lord Campbell's Act of 1845, giving compensation for a tort causing death, has now, I believe, been enacted by every State in the Union, though in a modified form in some of them.

#### MARRIED WOMEN.

Till the last few years our statute and common law placed married women in the same class with infants, idiots, lunatics, and convicts. A married woman had scarcely any rights; she could make no contracts, acquire no personal property, and even her earnings belonged to her husband. If left a widow, the husband could, by will, give the custody of the children to another, and during his life she had of course no right to their custody against him. Though England was ruled by a female sovereign, not till 1886 was the widow made the guardian of her children. Not till 1870 began the series of Acts that have emancipated a married woman, so that now she can make any contract with reference to her separate property just as if she were unmarried; she can now sell it or dispose of it by will, and her earnings are her own. Most of our States have in the last few years passed similar statutes, though few States have so absolutely and completely unfettered married women as has been done in England, and some few States even still retain the barbarous provisions of the common law by which a woman's personality was merged into her husband's upon marriage and her property became his. Sir William Blackstone, with delightful irony, complacently told us that the common law ever showered favors on woman with a lavish hand. As she became merged in her husband's existence, these favors were



showered on her *sub modo* by endowing her husband with the rights and property that till marriage had been hers.

Nay, more; as late as 1840 the English courts held that a husband had control over the person of his wife as well as ownership of the property that had been hers, and that if he saw fit to keep her under lock and key she could not be released by *habeas corpus*. Just fifty years later, in the Clitheroe case, the court, in a case just like the one fifty years before, held just the opposite and set the lady free. There had been no intervening statute, but the court had progressed. There was progress in the law. Mr. Justice Blackstone, while reiterating that "the female sex is so great a favorite of the law of England," takes care to recite that at common law a man could "shower the favor" of a moderate correction upon his wife. He does not assert that there had been any change to his day, and while deprecating the switching he points out, as a substitute, that the husband had a right to lock her up. In the Clitheroe case in 1890, the right to chastise the wife, under any circumstances, was for the first time emphatically denied in England, though the majority of the court held that it was authorized at common law.

Not only has the law been completely revolutionized on many subjects, especially in the last thirty or fifty years, but great branches of the law have been created, certainly within the last century, and largely within the last third of it.

#### THE LAW OF PRIVATE CORPORATIONS,

and of quasi-public corporations, which occupies so large a space in our text-books and reported cases, was almost unknown a century ago. Banks, railroads, telegraph, and a thousand different kinds of corporation have sprung up and grown like Jonah's gourd. The statute law is but a small part of the law applicable to these omnipresent and indispensable agencies of civilization. Laws concerning and conserving the public health; laws providing for the poor, the aged, and the infirm; laws providing for public education and in many cases

for compulsory education; laws simplifying the conveyance of real estate and the registration of deeds—these are subjects of legislation that have practically been created both in England and this country within the last century. While some of our States have been hesitating at the adoption of the Torrens Act as revolutionary, in England real estate now passes (in the absence of a settlement), not to the heir-at-law, but to the personal representative; and the following is now a sufficient conveyance of realty that has been registered:

"27 Jan., 1903. In consideration of £. . . . ., I hereby transfer to A. B. my land, registered in Dist. . . . . Parish. . . . . No. of title. . . . . Signed, sealed, and delivered," etc.

The growth of the law of negligence has been phenomenal, as has been the learning in regard to municipal, county, and State bonds. Municipal ownership of water, gas, electricity, street-cars, and (in England) of tenement and lodging houses, public laundries, public bakeries, ferries, and similar matters, bids fair to add many new features to our jurisprudence. In the marked growth of popular sentiment in this country in favor of governmental ownership of coal mines (which has of late received a sudden impetus), of telegraphs, telephones, and railroads, we are simply following the track along which public sentiment has forced government in nearly all other civilized countries. England stands almost alone with us in not owning her leading railway systems, though even she added the telegraph and the express to her post-office as far back as 1870. It seems to be foreshadowed that we must do in these matters what all other civilized people are doing, and, if so, the next few years shall see a still further development in our laws.

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## THE MOROCCAN QUESTION.

THE recent fanatical outbreak against the power of the Sultan of Morocco and the mobilization of French zouaves upon the Moroccan frontier have again forced into the arena of international politics a question the importance of which to the peace of Europe has long been recognized by her most far-seeing statesmen. The importance of Morocco is due in part to its natural resources, but to a far greater extent to its position. While Morocco remains independent and either it or any other weak power controls the strongholds upon its northern coast, the possession of Gibraltar gives to Great Britain the mastery of the western gateway to the Mediterranean. But let a great power, other than Great Britain, gain possession of Morocco or become intrenched upon her northern coast, and immediately the possession of Gibraltar will have lost much of its meaning, as it will no longer carry with it the control of this great and historic highway of commerce. The position of Morocco, therefore, like that of Turkey, makes the question of its future one of great international importance, and, like Turkey also, the rottenness of its government and its inability or disinclination to protect life and property may at any time render some solution of the question imperative. For, whatever may have been, are, or will be the doctrinaire theories as to the rights of sovereign States, the logic of facts and the interests of mankind have rendered national isolation impossible. Intercourse is a part of the law of Nature and has become a part of the law of nations—a recognized necessity to the highest development of mankind. Yet, in order that intercourse may be possible, life and property must be protected; hence, the government that has lost the ability or the inclination to do this has forfeited its right to exist.

Given a country of considerable though undeveloped re-

sources, a decadent and despotic government, a population made up largely of fanatics, a position of great strategic importance, an undefined boundary line—and we have present the necessary elements of an exceedingly explosive compound, the handling of which demands the utmost delicacy and discretion. It is therefore not surprising that this question should have caused a certain degree of nervousness in the diplomatic circles of Europe three times during as many years. The first of these attacks of nervousness was brought on by the sending of a Russian minister to Tangier. The purpose of this naturally excited comment, as it is never customary to establish a legation in a country unless the government establishing it has trade or subjects in said country to be protected; whereas the entire Russian trade with Morocco was not then, nor is it now, equal to the cost of maintaining the legation. And as for Russian subjects in Morocco, there is but one—and he a Jew. When we remember the exceeding tenderness of the Russian Government for its Jewish subjects at home, it is most surprising that her extreme solicitude for the protection of this lone Jew in Morocco should have excited suspicion in London. But it did. Those unsentimental, blunt, beef-eating Englishmen were not prepared to appreciate so marvelous a manifestation of chivalric self-sacrifice upon the part of the Russian Government. By them it was felt that this move was made at the solicitation of France, and hence that it would be the first step in a combined move on the part of these two powers, the outcome of which would be either the partition of Morocco between them or a *quid pro quo* to Russia in the East for such assistance as she might render France in Morocco. There are not wanting circumstances tending to show that this suspicion is well founded. Thus far the time of the Russian minister has not been so completely taken up with protecting the interests of his beloved fellow-citizen, the aforementioned solitary Jew, that he has not had some time to devote to a study of the situation at close range, so that when the time comes for action he will be in a position to advise his government as to the more expedient course for it to pursue. As Russian diplomacy

moves slowly, it is too soon to pass definitely upon this question.

The next move upon the checker-board was the seizure of Twat and some adjoining territory by France. The chief value of these possessions consists, not in their soil or other resources, but in their strategic position. Lying as they do upon the French line of communication between Algeria and the Niger, their ownership was a matter of no small importance to France. When the projected French railway is built between the Mediterranean and Timbuctoo, and later extended to the Niger, the value of these little oases round about Twat will be evident. The same is true of the insignificant village of Igli, which was subsequently appropriated by the French. The opposition to these aggressions on the part of France against Morocco was perhaps greater at London than at Fez, but at neither place did it take a more substantial form than solemn consultation and diplomatic protest. The French insisted that these places were clearly within the French sphere of influence and formed no part of the territory of Morocco, although the treaty of 1845 between France and Morocco recognized them as a part of Morocco, and this treaty had not been abrogated. Notwithstanding this assertion of innocence, it must be confessed that there was something a trifle suspicious about the transaction. For instance, it is a little strange that France should have suddenly made the discovery of her title to this strip in North Africa just at the time when Great Britain was most preoccupied in South Africa, and hence not in a position to bring suit in ejectment against France in North Africa. In addition to rendering safe her line of communications, there can be little doubt that France was anxious to see how far she could proceed in filing title-deeds without meeting with any more serious opposition than diplomatic protests. It must also be admitted that she chose a very opportune time for the proceeding.

At the present writing, acts may at any time be committed that will offer an excuse for interference from without. The despatching of French zouaves from Oran to the Moroccan frontier looks ominous, as it cannot be for the protection of

French territory, which is in no danger of invasion. If they are not there for the purpose of searching out a line of titles that may have been overlooked in the previous hasty examination of the records, it would seem that they have been sent there not entirely for a change of climate and scenery, but rather that they may be on hand to turn the tide in favor of the Sultan, should he in his extremity request their aid. And for this valuable assistance they would very naturally expect a liberal concession. An arrangement of this sort would bring France one step nearer to the rounding out of her North African boundaries. In the event of such a proceeding it is difficult to forecast what action would be taken by England. We are convinced that, outside of a very limited area upon the northern coast, England does not wish to acquire territory in Morocco. Yet we are equally certain that she would feel compelled to oppose its acquisition by France, because of the commercial policy pursued by the latter in her colonies. At present very nearly one-half of the trade of Morocco is with Great Britain. That this would not be the case should Morocco become a dependency of France is made reasonably certain by a glance at the trade of Algeria, of which at present eighty per cent. is with France and only four per cent. with Great Britain. It is readily conceivable that this prospect of loss of trade might drive the British to a more vigorous course of action than simply diplomatic protest.

Unless France chooses to force a settlement of the question, England certainly will not. Her interests would impel her either to maintain so far as possible the *status quo* or else to back Spain, which has for centuries looked with longing, not to say covetous, eyes upon the Moorish Empire, the possession of which by Spain would be a sweet, though long postponed, revenge for her own conquest by the Moors several centuries ago. For this revenge, however, it is vain for her to hope without the backing of England. Unaided, Spain is a negligible factor in the solution of the Moroccan question. And it is fair to suppose that, as a price of her alliance with Spain, England would expect certain commercial concessions; nor is it at



all improbable that she would receive in addition a cession of either Ceuta or Tangier, although this would not be of transcendent importance, as neither of them would be dangerous to her in the possession of Spain.

While Italy would look with extreme disfavor upon Russia's gaining a foothold in Morocco, it is no doubt true that she would concede to France a free hand there in return for a like concession by France to her in Tripoli. In fact it has been repeatedly asserted that such an agreement exists between them.

Though Germany would not be averse to acquiring a strip of territory in Sus, which would give her a harbor upon the Atlantic, she is, with that exception, in favor of a maintenance of the *status quo*, and for much the same reason that Great Britain is.

The interest of the United States in the question is at present a purely commercial one, yet it is not at all outside the realm of possibilities that she may become the arbiter of the fate of the Moorish Empire. This is, however, too remote a contingency for serious consideration at present.

In view of what has already happened it is evident that we have here a most perplexing problem, a crisis in the solution of which may be reached at any time. I am not an alarmist, yet it is my sober conviction that this question may at any time develop complications that will convulse Europe. The fate of Morocco rests not upon its own inherent strength, nor yet upon its moral claim to longer life, but rather upon the jealousies of the great powers of Europe. There is something pathetic about this tottering remnant of the once vigorous and powerful Moorish Empire. Esthetically considered, there is no doubt something picturesque about this island of Orientalism in the midst of a surging sea of Western civilization that threatens at any moment to engulf it. Chronologically considered, Morocco is an anachronism—a relic of medievalism in the dawn of the twentieth century. Politically considered, it is a State hopelessly out of joint with the spirit of the times and its environment, and, as it no longer fulfils the primary du-

ties of a State,—the protection of life, liberty, and property,—reconstruction, either from within or from without, is a necessity. The question is therefore one of how, when, and by whom?

A sudden collapse of the present fanatical uprising, which may at any time occur, would simply postpone for a short time the solution of this question.

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## THE PASSING OF CHURCH INFLUENCE.

**I**T was Mr. W. T. Stead, I believe, who said, in effect, on several public occasions during his visit to America some years ago, that the influence of the Church had come to be of secondary and minor importance in the affairs of mankind, and that the legitimate office and scope of the State or municipality are, and perforce ought to be, of paramount concern in human affairs. He would not have it different. It was Mr. Stead's contention that the Church, at most, was but a mere assistant of the State, attempting to do partially and locally what the State is bound to do on demand for the entire community, fully and completely. He illustrated his position by saying that the State or other political division of the country is both morally and legally bound to see that none of its wards suffer for food, clothing, or shelter. That this responsibility is a continuous one, covering the entire existence of the individual, and that it is universal in its application, is quite evident. To take care of the unfortunate, put it in whatever light you please, is the business and duty of human governments.

Mr. Stead was unable to discover that the Church had ever exerted such a beneficent influence over the vital affairs of men. There may have been instances, here and there, spasmodic in their nature, where real help has been extended to the suffering and the needy, and sustained locally by church influence. This has never been of long duration, and has always been confined to a limited territorial area. The condition precedent to securing this church charity was the renunciation of all notions of self-respect and of true manhood, and the assumption of a most belittling attitude that was damnable in the sight of every one possessing a particle of spirit or manly independence. This "condition precedent" rendered impossible or nugatory much of the aid that would otherwise have gone out under the influence or dictation of the Church. The idea that misfortunes

should make it necessary for the unfortunate to submit to degradation, however slight or remote, is abhorrent to every self-respecting person; it is, moreover, both un-American and unchristianlike.

But the idea of help, which the Church calls charity but which the State is bound to recognize as duty, is admittedly a herculean task, and beyond the ability of the Church as at present organized and conducted. It is within the easy reach of the State, however; and the State discharges its full duty in the premises without making its unfortunate wards any less worthy "citizens of the realm."

So far this discussion may appear to have confined itself to the temporal affairs of the human race. And it will be argued, perhaps, that the Church concerns itself mainly with "things spiritual." And yet "help"—real, substantial assistance—in time of need cannot be regarded as anything less than one of the noblest of virtues, and worthy of imitation by the choicest of "God's holy people." It is this wide-spread and pronounced departure from practical things in daily life, and the riding of a "hobby-horse" of theoretical right living and right doing, that has tended steadily to lessen the benign influence of the Church. It has done more: it has driven out of its walls a portion of its congregation, a portion who found no welcome or fellowship there, and who stood perhaps in direst need of the teachings of lofty ideals of living. We cannot expect poor people to accept as right or proper the dictum that "it is more blessed to give than to receive," when it is known that the "giving" of the poorer classes means the "receiving" by the wealthier or better classes of additional ease and comfort. The doctrine has some defective conditions that seem unworthy and inconsistent. And it is, nevertheless, probably within the recollection of every living person who has ever attended a church service that this doctrine of "giving" is drummed into the ears of the congregation.

There is a growing tendency to regard the Church as a merely human institution. It is, indeed, rarely more. It aims to assist and protect its members in whatever they may say or

do. If this aid and this protection were always directed along right lines there would be slight cause for complaint. It is within the knowledge of the writer that instances of downright crookedness, if indeed not crime, have been committed by members of a church organization; yet the church would turn a deaf ear to all accusations. It would neither discipline nor expel the unworthy member. Cases of this kind in great numbers could be cited that would be bewildering in their enormity. Churches of this character ought not to be denominated as even *human* organizations. It is certainly sacrilege to say that they partake of anything of a heavenly nature.

The failure of the pulpit to keep in close and intimate touch with living things, with the life of to-day, has done much to empty the pews and to cause the common people especially to drift away from Sunday services. Doctrines are no longer much desired. Those who talk along lines of dogmatic assertion usually know as much about the subject as their hearers and no more, and it often happens that neither speaker nor hearer knows anything about it at all. A talk or a sermon along practical lines, something that the individual can apply to his daily life and thought—that is the welcomed message from the pulpit to the pew. And the sooner the occupant of the former learns it the sooner the latter will be filled with eager listeners.

There is so pronounced a clannishness among church-going people that they are avoided by "the world" in sheer self-defense. This may seem like putting an old truth in a little too strong language; yet it is capable of full and convincing demonstration. How often has it been the experience of attendants at church services that those who are somewhat irregular in attendance are *unknown* to "the faithful?" And the reason for this is not hard to find. Mr. A. has lost heavily in speculations and cannot be expected to contribute anything to the support of the church. Mrs. B. dresses horridly, and her daughters are uncouth and mannish. C. is illiterate and poor. Mr. D.'s daughters give all their attention to making a show, and are never known to contribute anything to the church

work. Why should the others "know" them? These are but a few samples of actual cases. Is it any wonder that the Church is regarded as but a poor "human" institution?

The test of first-rate fellowship in the average church is determined, largely although not wholly, by the size of the contribution you may be able to make—or not necessarily *able* to make, but that you in fact *do* make. If your actual donation is small, you may be reasonably sure that your welcome will correspond thereto. There may be exceptions; but they, in turn, only prove the rule.

Is it any wonder that the influence of the Church is passing? Ought it not to pass if the contentions of this article are true? Has the Church any reason for continued existence if these things are capable of exact and certain proof and are general in their application?

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## GIUSEPPE MAZZINI.

A light is out in Italy,  
A golden tongue of purest flame.  
We watched it burning, long and lone,  
And every watcher knew its name,  
And knew from whence its fervor came;—  
That one rare light of Italy,  
That put self-seeking souls to shame.

This light which burnt for Italy  
Through all the blackness of her night.  
She doubted once upon a time,  
Because it took away her sight.  
She looked, and said there is no light.  
It was thy eye, poor Italy,  
That knew not dark apart from bright.

This flame which burnt for Italy,  
It would not let her haters sleep.  
They blew at it with angry breath,  
And only fed its upward leap,  
And only made it hot and deep.  
Its burning showed us Italy  
And all the hope she had to keep.

This light is out in Italy.  
Her eyes shall seek for it in vain!  
For her sweet self it spent itself,  
Too early flickering to its wane—  
Too long blown over by her pain.  
Bow down and weep, O Italy!  
Thou canst not kindle it again.

—Howard Glyndon.

### I.

**A**MONG the great solitaries who from time to time throughout the history of our race have stepped forth from homes of plenty, culture, and refinement, and, turning from the siren voices of fame, personal honor, and wealth, and from those vocations which appealed to their natural taste, have

chosen exile, poverty, and almost every deadly peril that can confront the physical man, in order that they might assist in the august task of arousing the sleeping conscience of an age and calling it to the bar of judgment, I know of no man in modern times entitled to higher rank than the Italian scholar, philosopher, idealist, patriot, and revolutionist, Giuseppe Mazzini.

In many respects he seems nearer akin to the noblest of Israel's ancient prophets than any other child of Western civilization, but he possessed a far broader intellectual vision, a clearer conception of the full and rich meaning of life, and a sweeter, saner, and truer ideal of man's duties, obligations, and proper relationship to all other men than did the great solitaries who in more primitive times gave the marching orders to humanity's vanguard and spoke the divine word as it came to them.

Mazzini possessed all the moral enthusiasm of the old Hebrew prophets, the passionate love of the beautiful and the deep philosophic bias of the Grecian mind, together with something of the breadth of thought and judicial quality of intellect characteristic of the greatest of the ancient Romans; while above and beyond all these excellencies, his life and thought reflected much of that profound sympathy—that infinite pity and all-comprehending love—that was the crown of fadeless glory bequeathed to the ages by the Great Nazarene; and, finally, he was a luminous interpreter of the broadest and truest revolutionary ideals that marked the nineteenth century. He was one of the most deeply philosophic of the leaders in civilization's advance guard who have blazed the pathway for humanity to tread in happier ages yet to come.

## II.

Mazzini was born in Genoa, in 1805. His father was a successful physician and a professor in the University of Genoa. His mother was a large-hearted, brilliant-minded, and deeply affectionate woman, who shared her husband's passionate love for liberty and free government.

The childhood and youth of Giuseppe fell in stirring times. All Europe was a seething ocean of unrest. From the date of the victorious ending of the American Revolution and the return to their native land of Lafayette and his comrades, with their boundless enthusiasm for the new Republic and their glowing stories of the heroism and single-heartedness of Washington and other patriotic leaders, the spirit of republicanism spread rapidly, and the great Old World philosophers who, consciously or unconsciously, had been preparing the thinking world for a larger and juster life, became heroes and apostles in the eyes of large-minded patriots throughout all western Europe.

The French Revolution came as a sudden breaking forth of a mighty volcano, whose pent-up fury had been gathering momentum for centuries. Lacking leadership at once strong and firm, yet temperate, clear-sighted, and dominated by moral enthusiasm, the Revolution soon fell into the hands of savage forces and a brutal materialistic leadership that carried it down from the high ethical and humanitarian plane upon which the European philosophers had conducted their agitation, and which, under the guidance of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and other leaders, had marked our great struggle, until brute passion obscured reason and exiled justice; while hate met hate on the animal plane, and the feud of generations culminated in the bloodiest day of reckoning known to man. Yet notwithstanding the excesses of the French Revolution and the betrayal of the cause of liberty by Napoleon, notwithstanding the far-reaching reactionary influence arising from the aggressive and united action of European monarchs against the spirit of republicanism, the fires of freedom still burned brightly in the hearts of hundreds of thousands of the noblest men and women of western Europe. Probably no brief slogan ever produced so magic an influence on the imagination of man as did the cry, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity!"

During the youth of Mazzini, Italy was under the influence of the wave of republicanism born during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The larger view of life led men of

thought and high aspirations to believe that once again Italy should take her stand as the leader of a world's civilization.

From early life Giuseppe evinced a love for books and an insatiable appetite for facts. His taste for literature was fostered by his parents and his early tutors, who were the best that could be procured in his native city. At the age of thirteen he entered the Arts Department of the University of Genoa. He also studied anatomy for a time, with a view to entering his father's profession. Later he decided to follow law and literature as a life work, and so gave up his medical studies. In 1826 he graduated from the Arts Department of the University. In addition to his college curriculum he took outside courses of study, including music and English, the latter of which was destined to prove of great service to him later in life. His natural bent was toward literature. He would doubtless have become a leading philosophic critic and a master in vital prose composition if at an early age he had not been overmastered by the light of justice and the larger truth as it pertains to man in his relation to his fellow-men.

He often observed in later life that one incident in his boyhood years was indelibly impressed upon his youthful imagination. He was walking with his mother along one of the thoroughfares of Genoa when a tall gentleman with long black beard and flashing eyes stepped up to the mother and holding out a white handkerchief said, "For the Italian refugees." The mother gladly contributed to the fund that this man, who had been a brave leader in the ill-starred insurrection in Piedmont against Austrian despotism, was collecting. The refugees had fled to Genoa and were preparing for exile. From that day Mazzini became convinced that all right-minded Italians should struggle for the emancipation of their fatherland. "I had," he observes, "already been unconsciously educated in the worship of equality by the democratic principles of my parents. But," he continues, "the idea that there was an existing wrong in my own country against which it was a duty to struggle, and the thought that I, too, must bear my part in that struggle, flashed before my mind on that day, never again to leave me."

## III.

To natures like Mazzini's the command of duty is ever a divine mandate that must be obeyed; and, from the moment that he felt it to be his duty to consecrate his life to the cause of Italian independence, he put aside all the pleasing dreams of the future that had haunted his vivid imagination. Others might shrink from the perilous pathway, which it was more than probable would lead to an ignominious death, and satisfy their consciences with one of a thousand ingenious excuses; but for him there was nothing to do but to obey. He joined the Carbonari, an oathbound secret society whose efforts were directed against the ruling despotisms of the Peninsula and whose aim was the establishment of a free government. There was much about the organization that the young patriot did not like, and its program seemed to be chiefly destructive—or rather its leaders did not appear to have any clear perception of what should come after the old order had been overturned. Still, this society promised action. It aimed to destroy despotism, and it faced toward the dawn of freedom. Hence, he soon became an active member, doing much to further its success.

One day he was commanded to repair to a certain hotel and there initiate a certain captain into the second degree of the order. On receiving the summons Giuseppe felt a strange premonition of impending danger. So pronounced and oppressive was the presentiment that he went to the home of two brothers whom he dearly loved and who were fellow-conspirators. To them he imparted his fears, adding that so strong was the premonition that he desired to arrange with them a system of secret correspondence by which, in case he should be imprisoned, he could send them important messages and receive in return communications that would not reach him if the officials were cognizant of their contents. The plan decided upon was as follows: In the event of the incarceration of Mazzini, the prisoner would in all probability be permitted to communicate occasionally with his mother, and he arranged that the

first letter of every third word in the communication should spell in Latin the message he desired to send. His friends were to aid the mother in composing an answer that should likewise secretly convey important facts or news to him.

With these precautionary measures arranged, Mazzini repaired to the hotel where he met the Major Cotton who desired initiation. The man, notwithstanding his voluble protestations of interest in the cause, impressed the young patriot rather unfavorably, owing to his nervous manner and furtive look; but he had nothing to do but to obey the orders of his superior. What followed has been graphically described by Mazzini in these words:

"Having led me into his bedroom, he knelt down, and I, drawing a sword from my stick, agreeable to the prescribed form, was just beginning to make him repeat the oath, when a little window cut in the wall by the side of the bed suddenly opened, and an unknown face presented itself thereat. The unknown looked hard at me and then closed the window."

Mazzini was naturally indignant and much disturbed at this action, though Cotton was profuse in his apologies, declaring that the man was his private and confidential servant. He hoped the patriot would pardon him for having neglected to lock the window. This, however, was not the only suspicious circumstance connected with the initiation of Cotton, for after the administration of the prescribed oath the major said he was soon to set out on a journey to Nice, where he would be able to accomplish a great work among the soldiers, but unfortunately his memory was so treacherous that he would be greatly obliged to Mazzini for a written copy of the initiation formula. Giuseppe instantly refused, declaring that it was contrary to his habit to write such things, but that he would dictate it to the major and he might take it down if he desired. Accordingly, Cotton wrote down the oath from Mazzini's lips. "I took leave of him," says the patriot, "much dissatisfied with the affair."

A few days later, when about to leave his home, he was arrested by the police, and at the moment of his apprehension



he tells us that he had on his person enough for "three condemnations"—a letter in cipher from a fellow-conspirator, the formula of the second-rank oath in the Carbonari, rifle bullets, a history of the revolutionary uprising in Paris printed on tri-color paper, and a sword-stick. Great peril sometimes marvelously quickens the wit, and the young Italian succeeded in getting rid of all incriminating evidences before the police searched him. Their search of the home, though intended to be thorough, furnished them no evidence. Nevertheless, they conducted the young man, first to the barracks and later, in the dead of night, to the fortress of Savona, on the western Riviera. He was placed in a cell near the top of the building, from which he was able to look upon the sky and sea—"those two symbols of the Infinite." Here he was confined for six months. His mother was allowed to write him once in ten days, and he was also permitted to answer each of her letters. By employing the system of correspondence agreed upon between Mazzini and his comrades, the prisoner was kept apprised of revolutionary happenings, while he was able to direct the efforts of his fellow-workers.

Major Cotton had only consented to play the part of a spy on condition that he should not be compelled to testify in court, and, as Mazzini would admit nothing, the government failed to convict. The authorities, however, arbitrarily refused to allow him to settle in Genoa or any other large city. If he remained in Italy he must live in one of a certain number of small towns where he could be under the surveillance of the police. Not willing to agree to this proposition, he chose exile, and departed forthwith for France.

#### IV.

From the time of his banishment, Mazzini worked tirelessly for the cause of Italian freedom and unity, at first in Lyons and later in Corsica and Marseilles. When Charles Albert ascended the Sardinian throne, many of the patriots believed that this prince, who had been a carbonaro in 1821, would head the liberal movement and the struggle for Italian unity, and in a

measure at least further the broader ideals of the age. Mazzini, "interpreting a hope he did not share," addressed an open letter to the new king, in which he called his attention to his earlier connection with the revolutionary party and urged him to be true to his pledges. This letter, as the young revolutionary patriot anticipated, gave great offense to the government, and the order was issued to seize and imprison Mazzini if he attempted to cross the border; but the young Italian had no intention of running into the lion's jaws. Instead, he made Marseilles the headquarters for the new revolutionary movement and perfected his great historic organization known as "Young Italy," a body of as noble and single-hearted patriots as ever braved death and suffered all the privations of hunted exiles. The motto of Young Italy—"Liberty, Equality, Humanity, Unity, and Independence"—sums up the aim and object of the organization.

From Marseilles the revolutionists issued from time to time stirring appeals, and later published a regular paper, while in other ways pushing forward the propaganda in a systematic manner. They met with almost insurmountable obstacles at every step. The apostles of this movement were for the most part young men, and all possessed youth of heart; hence, into their work were thrown all the faith and enthusiasm of life's morning time. Moreover, they were under the guidance of a true prophet soul, whose whole existence was, from youth to death, dedicated to the realization of the noblest dream that has ever haunted the brain of civilized man.

The publications of the organization were, of course, proscribed in Italy, and it, therefore, became necessary to smuggle them into the peninsula. In spite of every precaution and the vigilance of the customs officials, the incendiary papers found their way in great numbers across the borders and were scattered broadcast over the land, creating consternation in government circles. Forthwith, large rewards were offered for seizures of any of the papers of Young Italy, while all persons who were found guilty of aiding in their distribution were to be fined heavily and imprisoned for two years. The informer

was to receive half the fine, while he was not required to disclose his identity. The vigilance of officers and spies, stimulated by the rich rewards of the government, made it exceedingly difficult for the revolutionists to carry on their work, and the insurgents were sorely taxed successfully to devise plans for evading the argus eyes of hired informers. Their zeal and determination, however, stopped at no obstacles, and at length they hit upon a unique method of introducing their political dynamite into the citadel of the foe. Says Mazzini:

"We now sent our papers inside barrels of pumice-stone, and even of pitch, which we filled ourselves in a little warehouse we had hired for the purpose. Ten or twelve of these barrels were despatched by means of agents ignorant of their contents, and addressed to others equally in the dark in various towns to which we wanted to send. One of our associates always presented himself shortly after their arrival as a purchaser, taking care to select a barrel bearing a number already indicated to him by us as containing our inclosures. I cite this as one of the thousand artifices to which we had recourse. We were also assisted in our smuggling by French republicans, and above all by sailors of the Italian merchant navy, toward whom much of our educational activity had been directed."

It was not, perhaps, strange that the Italian monarch, finding the flames of revolution continually fed from Mazzini's camp at Marseilles, urgently appealed to the French king to banish the patriot leader; nor is it altogether strange that King Louis Philippe, in spite of his pretended liberalism, should find the presence of the uncompromising, indefatigable, and brilliant young democrat a menace to his throne as well as a cause of strained relations between France and Italy. So the wishes of the Sardinian king were heeded, and the decree of banishment given at a moment when it seemed all-important for the cause that Mazzini should remain in Marseilles. Accordingly, a ruse was successfully perpetrated. An Italian, resembling the young revolutionist, was escorted to the borders of France, while Mazzini remained in hiding, and for a whole year directed by midnight councils and aided by his trenchant pen the progress of the cause of Young Italy. Later he sought

refuge in Switzerland, but from there he was finally exiled on account of the imperative demand of Charles Albert. From the Alpine republic he turned to England and sought refuge in her great metropolis.

## V.

Mazzini reached London early in 1837. He was alone and without friends in this strange, dark, and gloomy city, whose somber skies contrasted as strikingly with those of sunny Italy as did his present condition with that of a few years earlier when he left the University of Genoa, and literature and law beckoned him into fields of pleasure and worldly success, provided he would silence the divine voice that from within called him to dedicate his life to the cause of human emancipation and happiness. He was entirely without funds, and, except for a few valuable love tokens and mementos given him by his mother and a few dear friends, he was wholly without resources. The demand for food and shelter, however, was imperious; and so we find him struggling on in silence and bitterness of spirit, pledging his few treasured souvenirs of the love of the absent ones. At last even these were gone; and then came one Saturday night on which he tells us he was compelled to carry "an old coat and a pair of boots to one of the pawn-broker's shops, crowded on Saturday evenings by the poor and fallen, in order to obtain food for Sunday."

His health, which from infancy had been exceedingly delicate, was broken now, and, what was still more frightful, dark and terrible thoughts and forebodings took possession of his mind, and for a brief interval the sinister shadow advanced upon the dial of the intellect. Had his course been a great mistake? Nay, more—was he not the author of a great wrong, if not crime? Was he not morally responsible for the execution of his friends, who through him had entered the new crusade only to find death awaiting them upon the threshold of early manhood? What right had he to inspire others to sacrifice fortune, home, and life for an idea, however noble? Then dark thoughts took possession of the highly sensitive and al-

most superconscientious mind of the frail and abandoned exile. For a time, he tells us, he felt himself "a criminal—conscious of guilt, yet without the power of expiation. The forms of those shot at Alessandria and Chambray rose up before me like the phantom of a crime and its unavailing remorse."

In the midst of his dark imaginings, however, his philosophy came to the rescue of his reason, and through it, he tells us, he was saved from insanity or suicide. He carefully and judicially examined himself and the cause to which he had so irrevocably consecrated his life. In the first place, he found that his own motives had been pure. Self-interest, success, fame, and glory had at every step urged him in an opposite direction from that which he had taken. He had dedicated his life to the unity and freedom of Italy, without thought of self and knowing full well that this step probably meant imprisonment and death or banishment; hence, he had not been prompted by any impure, sordid, personal, or unworthy motives. Next he examined the cause, and found it wholly just. If humanity was to go forward, it must enjoy that noble justice and large freedom and be permeated with that spirit of brotherhood for which he contended. If God had spoken in the passionate prayer of Jesus, that the children of the All-Father be one and that the Golden Rule be the law of life, God was with the cause of Young Italy, and the path of progress must be along the highway of brotherhood.

From such conclusions as these Mazzini turned to a contemplation of human advancement in the light of history, and here he encountered a fact as comforting as it was significant. The rise of the race had been achieved very largely through the sacrifice, suffering, and death of those who saw the higher truth, and who, with no thought of self, dared to brave enthroned injustice and become the servants of progress and witnesses to the light. From the soil watered by the blood of despised martyrs had sprung the flower of civilization. The world had been carried forward and upward by the thoughts, the deeds, the lives, and the death of the apostles of the ideal—the sons of truth, of justice, and of love. Socrates had not

died in vain. Jesus by being raised upon the cross had riveted the world's gaze upon his matchlessly beautiful life. Savonarola had lighted the beacon of hope and of holiness at a time when Church and society had sunk into a death-like lethargy, born of the eclipse of the ideal through corruption, self-interest, and materialism. Hampden, mighty in life, was even greater in death, having fallen with his armor on, battling for freedom and justice. These and comrade souls in all ages had exalted life, lifted the ideal of humanity above the mire, and carried civilization forward, though in so doing they had sacrificed all that conservatism, conventionalism, and self-desire esteem most precious in life.

After thus bravely facing the great doubt that had darkened his brain, and philosophically reviewing the issues involved in the light of reason and history, a great calm came into the soul of the lonely exile. The weight and burden fell from his heart. What was his suffering, his exile, his life itself, compared with the cause that carried with it the emancipation and happiness of millions of his brothers and sisters?

About this time aid came to the banished patriot, largely through certain Englishmen who had followed his brave struggle on the Continent, and who now became aware of the presence of Mazzini in London, and of his great need. Through the timely influence of these friends, literary work was secured, which, though very meager in its financial return, enabled Mazzini to live. Then it was that he appreciated the value of having studied English when younger, for through his knowledge of the language his brilliant intellectual powers were recognized by English magazine editors; and his essays on Byron, Goethe, Lamennais, George Sand, the Poems of Lamartine, the Genius and Tendency of the Writings of Carlyle, and other distinctly great papers that appeared from time to time during his exile, entitled him to a foremost place among the best essayists of the period.

Nor did he remit in any degree his ardent work in behalf of a free and a united Italy. In England, as in France and Switzerland, he proved a menace to the despotism that oppressed



the Italian people; and at the urgent entreaties of the Neapolitan government the ministry of Sir Robert Peel prostituted itself, to its everlasting shame, by consenting to act the part of spy and informer. For months the correspondence of Mazzini was intercepted by the government. The letters were first opened and a transcript of their contents made, after which they were forwarded to their destination, while the Neapolitan government was advised of the contents of the letters. It was long ere Mazzini secured the conclusive facts necessary to confute the denials of the administration; but at length such evidence was laid before the House of Commons that the government was placed in a most discreditable and compromising attitude. Then it was that Sir James Graham resurrected a shameful and utterly false calumny that had been published years before and that represented Mazzini as the instigator and director of a dastardly assassination, notwithstanding the fact that the exile had met the accusation at the time and had clearly established his complete innocence. Again Mazzini was prompt to defend his honor, with the result that Sir James Graham was compelled publicly to apologize in Parliament for his reckless assault on the character of the exile. It was at this time that Thomas Carlyle thus came to the defense of Mazzini, in a letter published in the *London Times*:

"I have had the honor to know M. Mazzini for a series of years, and, whatever I may think of his practical insight and skill in worldly affairs, I can with great freedom testify to all men that he, if ever I have seen one such, is a man of genius and virtue, a man of sterling veracity, humanity, and nobleness of mind; one of those rare men, numerable, unfortunately, but as units in this world, who are worthy to be called martyr souls; who, in silence, piously in their daily life, understand and practise what is meant by that."

Perhaps nothing better illustrates the essential nobility of Mazzini than his work among the weak and suffering Italians, and especially his labors in behalf of the poor, defenseless children of his country in London.

Many reformers become so engrossed in a large issue or cause that they seem to have little time to consider the misery

or the needs of the units about them. Not so with Mazzini. The pitiable condition of little Italian boys and girls, brought to London largely under false representations and held in virtual slavery and kept in degrading ignorance, appealed to him with irresistible force. He opened and conducted a night school for these unfortunates, in which during his stay in London many hundreds of poor children received instruction in the rudiments of moral and secular education. He also so vigorously exposed the abuses to which these poor children were subjected by their brutal masters that much good resulted from his agitation. He organized an association of Italian workingmen and conducted a school on Sundays, where lectures on government, morals, and religion were given. He established a weekly journal, in which appeared the first part of his great work on the "Duties of Man," and in various other ways he became a great power in quickening the moral and mental faculties and bettering the condition of his countrymen in England. And all this was done in the midst of his battle for bread, and while conducting his propaganda for Italian unity and liberty.

#### VI. AFTER THE STORM OF '48.

When in 1848 the revolutionary storm broke with hurricane force upon western Europe it seemed for a time as if the world-dream of Democracy was about to be realized. Mazzini hastened to Milan, then the revolutionary storm-center of Italy. Here he worked with enthusiasm, and for a time bore arms under Garibaldi; but the rapid change in political and revolutionary conditions soon rendered helpful service no longer possible in that region, and he retired to Lugano. Early in the following year we find him in Tuscany, aiding with his presence and counsel in an attempt at a realization of the great national dream that he, more than any other human being, had awakened in the brain of Italy—the dream of unity and freedom.

When Pius IX. withdrew from Rome the people proclaimed a republic, and Mazzini was declared a member of the Assem-

bly. When Austria had the monarchic forces of Europe prepared to crush the free aspirations of the Papal State, Mazzini was chosen a member of the triumvirate, with supreme executive power.

From thenceforth the cause was hopeless, so far as immediate freedom was concerned, as the despotisms of all Europe were so terrified at the general uprisings that, having subdued or turned into harmless channels the revolts in their various domains, they now determined to aid the Pope, who had become an ultra-reactionary, and destroy every vestige of republicanism in Italy.

Mazzini read Napoleon Bonaparte better than did many of his time, and, like Victor Hugo, he saw behind his soft glove and pleasing phrasings the mailed hand and heartless soul of despotism. He knew that neither France nor Austria had any right to veto the overwhelming wish of the people of Italy, and he strongly advocated resistance. The Assembly, however, realizing the hopelessness of the conflict, voted to terminate the siege. Then the great patriot withdrew from Rome. "That he succeeded," says the Rev. J. S. Black, in his scholarly paper in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "for so long a time and in circumstances so adverse in maintaining a high degree of order within the turbulent city, is a fact that speaks for itself. . . . His diplomacy, backed as it was by no adequate physical force, naturally showed at the time to great disadvantage, but his official correspondence and proclamations can still be read with admiration and intellectual pleasure, as well as his eloquent vindication of the revolution." And we may add, what is far more important, that these and all the writings of Giuseppe Mazzini awaken a moral enthusiasm that fires the finest and best in man's nature and lifts him above the selfish and sordid things of life.

Mazzini knew that moral ideas never die; that it mattered little whether the earth drank up the blood of the martyr or not—the day would come when the thought-seed sown and the life and death of the high-minded apostle of human progress who consecrated his all to the cause of human emancipation

would inspire thousands of other men to carry forward the great cause; and that ultimately the supreme vision of the ages, born of Freedom, Fraternity, and Justice, would transform this old world and unchain laughter in the souls of men and maidens, of youth and age.

In 1850 we find Mazzini again in London, president of the National Italian Committee, and working with the same zeal that characterized his youth for unity, fraternity, and freedom for Italy. He was present in person or spirit in every attempt made for the liberation of his people; and in 1857, owing to his active part in a popular uprising, a sentence of death was passed against him by the monarchic power. In 1865, however, he was elected by Messina as a delegate to the Italian parliament, largely as a popular protest against the still uncanceled death sentence; for in all Italy no man lived who was more passionately loved by the great mass of the more thoughtful people than Giuseppe Mazzini. The patriot, however, declined to take his seat, as he could not swear allegiance to monarchy.

In 1866, after Venice had been ceded to Italy, general amnesty was granted to Italians, and the death sentence against Mazzini was raised. The great leader, however, promptly declared that he declined "an offer of oblivion and pardon for having loved Italy above all earthly things;" and he and Garibaldi were long feared by the king, who knew full well that they were republicans and patriots above price, and that they lived in the love of their countrymen as did perhaps no two other political leaders of the time.

In 1870, when Mazzini was *en route* for Sicily, he was arrested by the Italian government and imprisoned for two months, after which he was freed, and the remainder of his life was spent in Italy and England. For years his health had been poor, and in the early part of 1872 he repaired to Pisa, hoping that the mild climate would benefit him; but his condition grew worse rather than better, and in March he was attacked with congestion of the lungs, from which he died on the tenth of the month.

All Italy mourned the loss of one of the noblest minds and most single-hearted apostles of unity and freedom who ever left an impress on the brain of the world. A public funeral was held at Pisa on the fourteenth of March, and the remains were borne to Genoa, the city of his birth. More than 80,000 persons attended the funeral of this illustrious prophet of progress, who more than any other man made Italy yearn for unity, and who also sowed in the heart of the nation the seeds of freedom that will in the coming days blossom into a fraternal commonwealth. For the ideal he held before his people is in the main the true ideal, and the one to which civilization, if it continues to advance, must more and more nearly approach.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*

## THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM IN OREGON.

THE advocates of the initiative and referendum in Oregon succeeded in having it submitted to the people partly because they appealed in a friendly spirit to the patriotism, the common sense, and the just and honorable ambitions of the politicians for a careful and unprejudiced study of the principle. Our experience in Oregon shows that the politicians are at least as anxious as any other class of Americans to improve our system of government, though it is already one of the best devised by man. The measure was persistently put forward, especially by the newspapers, as a non-partizan demand by the people. In this way it made many friends in all parties. A careful examination of the proposed amendment convinced almost all the successful politicians and members of the legislature that it was an attempt to make practical machinery with which a majority of the voters could decide any important question solely on its own merits, and separate and apart from all other matters.

Every possible effort was made, through newspaper articles, the distribution of tracts, leaflets, and copies of the amendment, as well as explanations by political speakers, to have it thoroughly understood by the people. Three things were thus made clear to a large majority of the voters, if the amendment should be adopted: First, a reasonable minority of the citizens could appeal to all the voters against any act that might be passed by the legislature and prevent its becoming a law, until it should be approved by a majority of those voting on the question (except laws for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health, or safety). Second, that the legislature would be able to refer any act or appropriation to the people for their approval or rejection. Third, that a reasonable minority of the citizens could propose any law or amendment to the constitution, and if it should be approved



by a majority at the ballot box it would become law, independent of the legislature.

The expense of operation would be a trifle, because it provided that all votes on laws should be had at regular general elections, except when the legislature might order a special election. It reserved to the people supreme power to make or repeal any law on its own merits, by majority vote on the direct question, regardless of party platforms or pledges, or whether approved by the legislature or not. This reservation of power in the people appealed not only to the patriotic American instinct of self-government, but also to the self-interest of every taxpayer and to the personal ambition of every citizen to increase his power in the government over the acts of lawmakers and office-holders. The more fully these reserved powers were understood the more popular the measure became among all classes. In a tract issued by the Direct Legislation League, and during the campaign placed by mail and personal distribution in the hands of a very large majority of the voters, a number of the men most prominent in the business, professional, and labor life of our State gave reasons for favoring the amendment. Space will allow only a few brief quotations.

H. W. Scott, editor of the *Daily Oregonian*, which is, both editorially and as a newspaper, one of the ablest in the United States, and of great power and influence wherever it is read, said:

"The referendum is an obstacle to too much legislation; to surreptitious legislation; to legislation in particular interests; to partizan machine legislation, and to boss rule. No predatory measure could be carried before the people. The legislative lobbyist would be put out of business."

Charles E. Ladd, of the banking house of Ladd & Tilton, one of the wealthiest private banks on the Pacific Coast, wrote:

"Referring to proposed amendment of Section 1, Article IV., of the constitution of the State of Oregon, it is my opinion that this amendment will give the people the power to make or repeal any law, by the initiative, and to hold up and veto almost any law proposed and passed by the legislature; and it will leave no excuse for holding a constitutional convention."

C. C. Loucks, of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen:

"The people of Switzerland have succeeded in making laws by the initiative and referendum under which labor and capital live in peace, and I believe we shall be able to do as much under the same system in Oregon."

J. N. Teal, one of the most prominent lawyers of the State, and president of the Taxpayers' League of Portland:

"I favor the adoption of the proposed amendment to the constitution of the State of Oregon, popularly known as the Initiative and Referendum amendment, on many grounds and for many reasons. The fact that this power is reserved in the people will unquestionably have a decided tendency to discourage vicious legislation, for if an act is passed and the people are dissatisfied, by petition they can require its reference to them before it becomes effective, and if they then permit it to go into effect they can have no one but themselves to blame. Moreover, it permits the people to initiate measures, a reform which is an absolute necessity, as all who are familiar with legislative action are aware. It will prevent extravagance, encourage good government, promote home rule, and, above all, will bring home to the people a sense of personal responsibility—the very cornerstone of good government."

A. L. Mills, vice-president of the Security Savings & Trust Company, of Portland, one of the largest institutions of its class in the Northwest:

"I heartily favor the Initiative and Referendum amendment to the constitution for many reasons; but, if for no other, because it will be possible then for cities and towns to make and amend their charters without the consent or interference of any party machine."

Among others who contributed to this statement of reasons for indorsing the measure were the Hon. Donald MacKay, of the North Pacific Lumber Company; G. Y. Harry, president and organizer of the State Federation of Labor; the Hon. Ben. Selling, wholesale and retail clothing and furnishing goods; the Hon. Andrew C. Smith, M.D.; the Hon. Jonathan Bourne, Jr., mining capitalist; Arthur H. Devers, of Clossett & Devers, wholesale spices and coffee; R. P. Boise, past master of the State Grange, and who was a member of Oregon's constitu-

tional convention in 1857, is now serving as circuit judge, and has been on the bench more than thirty years; Louis G. Clarke, of the department drug house of Woodard & Clarke, and others of equal prominence. These names and their positions in our State are given only to show that it was not in any sense a class movement. Nor was it any sudden impulse, for the agitation for this principle in some form has been continuous in Oregon for the last ten years.

The brightest minds among our political leaders, as soon as they studied the details of the proposed amendment, believed it to be as safe for the legislator and office-holder as it is for the people: first, because with these powers reserved to the citizens, they are no longer obliged to defeat a useful public servant for reëlection and thus destroy his political career in order to overrule his vote or opinion on some one question, no matter how important it may be; second, there can be no possible excuse for the creation of new political parties, because when a group of reformers have made a sufficient number of converts they can get the decision of the people on their measure without electing or defeating any candidate for office; third, they believed it would relieve members of the legislature and politicians generally from a host of "grafts" and schemes in various forms for getting something out of the public treasury for nothing, because the danger that the people might order the referendum on such schemes would prevent them from being offered in the legislature. The reëlection of many candidates in 1900 and again in 1902 and the general comment since the last election seem to justify this reasoning.

Among the many successful politicians who rendered most effective aid, both in the submission and adoption of the initiative and referendum amendment, are U. S. Senators John H. Mitchell and Joseph Simon, Congressman-elect J. N. Williamson, Governor T. T. Geer, ex-U. S. Senator Geo. W. McBride, Governor-elect Geo. E. Chamberlain, the Hon. Sol. Hirsch, and Geo. H. Williams, mayor of Portland, president of the Direct Legislation League, and a leader in the politics and business of Oregon for fifty years, having been a member of Oregon's

constitutional convention in 1857, circuit judge, U. S. Senator, and Attorney-General of the United States under Grant's Administration—a man held in most affectionate honor and respect by all classes and all parties in our State. It was clear to thoughtful politicians and legislators that if this principle could be made to work as well on State and national measures as it has in our limited experience with one form of it in some city and local affairs, and in the people's vote on amendments to State constitutions, a man of ability and integrity might choose a political career for his life work and profession with good reason to believe it would be permanent as well as useful and honorable.

This has been one of the results of the system in Switzerland, where measures of the greatest importance, after passing the legislative bodies, have been overwhelmingly rejected by the people on referendum vote; and yet at the same election the members who voted for these rejected laws have themselves been reelected almost without opposition. To such an extent is this true that it is unusual in that country for an efficient member to fail of reelection so long as he is willing to serve. Such a sacrifice as that of Speaker Henderson and about seventy members of Congress at our last election because they did not agree with their constituents on the tariff, money, or any other question, is utterly unheard of in Switzerland since the adoption of this system in national affairs. No one in this country feels more cruelly than the able and patriotic politician the injustice of our system, which elects men to Congress and to the legislature to enact the will of the people into law, and yet gives them absolutely no method of learning with certainty the will of the majority on any question. Defeat for renomination or reelection is usually the member's first notice that the majority of his constituents are opposed to his views on tariff, reciprocity, silver, or some other important issue. In most cases this ends his political career, though by reason of long service, positions on important committees, and thorough knowledge of public men and affairs he would be much more useful than any new and untried man could possibly be. But

without the initiative and referendum the people cannot express their disapproval in any other way than by retiring the member to private life. The general sentiment among our legislators was well expressed by one who said: "The least we can do is to submit to the people a constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum, and see if they are willing to exercise this power and take upon themselves the direct personal responsibility that goes with it."

There were only thirteen votes opposed to the amendment in both houses of the legislative assembly of 1899. It was cautiously favored by the Republican and Democratic State conventions of 1900. But it was so clearly satisfactory to the people that there was only one opposing vote in the legislative assembly of 1901, and it was enthusiastically approved and indorsed by the Republican, Democratic, and Socialist conventions of 1902. It was approved and adopted by the people at the regular general election in June last year by a vote of 62,024 in its favor to 5,668 against it. This is the first amendment to the constitution of Oregon that has been approved by the people, though many have been rejected.

What may be called the field work of the movement was managed by the executive committee of the Direct Legislation League of Oregon. There were seventeen members of this committee, representing not only all the political parties of the State but also the principal factions of the different parties. The League was rather loosely organized; every one was counted a member who was willing to work for the cause, and who did not seek to make it a party question. Its members circulated literature, wrote letters to the newspapers, talked with their neighbors, collected funds, and some of them made speeches. The total amount of money expended by the League and the committee that preceded the more formal organization, from 1892 to 1902, was in round numbers \$1,750. The money was spent principally for printed matter and postage, as most of the work was cheerfully done by friends without pay.

W. S. U'REN.

*Oregon City, Ore.*

## ZIONISM AND SOCIALISM.

**I**N one of the Jewish bookstores on the East Side of New York, an ardent member of a Zionist society was offering to sell tickets to its annual ball to all who entered. A young man came in to buy his daily Yiddish paper. He was accosted by the Zionist. "No," said the customer, disdainfully, "I do not want any of these tickets." "Ah," said the ticket-vendor, angrily, "you are one of those Socialists; you don't want to go to a Zionist affair."

This incident, in a measure, sums up a remarkable clash of interests in the spiritual and intellectual life of the Ghetto. There are many varieties of thought, differences of opinion, and diversities of belief in the Jewish quarter. They are to be expected among a people that in history and tradition reaches so deep into the past, and in dream and prophecy looks so far into the future—a people that has played so many-sided and versatile a rôle in the course of human events, and has during its wanderings encountered all the currents of communal life; but among all these mental activities there is no more striking phase than the struggle between the followers of the contrasting conceptions of Zionism and Socialism.

Zionism is as old as the beginning of the Diaspora. The fervid hope of Palestine's restoration was carried along by the Israelites through the cold and darkness of their exile, through the gloaming and gloom of all the Ghettos. "A year hence in Jerusalem." Wherever the Jew celebrated the Passover, these were the words at the close of the Seder service. If in the course of time the meaning of the words faded and they were uttered only mechanically, even while those who prayed made material arrangements and business transactions indefinitely to remain in the lands of their exile, the rise of some imaginative zealot, or a fresh wave of anti-Semitic persecution, rekindled the smoldering fire, nigh extinguished. "If I forget thee, O Zion, let my right hand forget its cunning."



Modern advocates of the Zionist idea may claim that their aim is practical, and utterly independent of religion, and Joseph Seff may at the convention of the American Zionists protest against the pious proposition of Professor Gottheil, and say that no one has any right to deal with religious questions on the Zionist platform; it is nevertheless true that, among the orthodox, Zionism was always part of their religion, and the strength of this hope was determined by the fervor of their faith. The pious believed in the miraculous redemption of the Holy Land according to Biblical prophecy. They prayed for Zion; and, when some practical Zionists arose who wanted to do things and give them their old home, they held up their hands in horror and raised the cry of infidelity. Those who preached the gospel of Hillel and of self-help were ever looked upon with suspicion by the pietists.

But the revival of Zionism in a political form by Dr. Theodore Herzl, five or six years ago, found the Jews at large quite responsive to the call for practical efforts. The spirit of the age knows no restrictions and has penetrated even the obscurest little Jewish towns in Russia. Years and years ago the Palestinian plans of patriots and of their own Ghettos were ignored or rejected; now the call of a modernized German Jew was hearkened to and answered with enthusiasm. The pious recognized the necessity of taking action toward the fulfilment of prophecy. The orthodox and liberal came into agreement. Renewed persecutions, anti-Semitism, and an awakening of the racial feeling of superiority helped to bring these things about.

When the first Zionist Congress was held at Basle, Dr. Herzl and Max Nordau and other agnostics entered the synagogue of that city, donned their hats, and prayed together with the other Israelites who came from all parts of the world. Of the great strides that the movement has made, and the formidable power that it became, it is not now necessary to speak.

But there is a large and growing class of dissenters, whose sympathies have not in the least been moved by the recent revival of all the sound and sentiment that surround the rebirth of the Zionist ideal. On the contrary, this class has

evinced more antagonism, enmity, and opposition than ever before. The Socialists and Radicals in Israel have gone on increasing their ranks and have continued to carry on their propaganda, utterly regardless of the claims of their patriotic brethren. The very inception of a Socialist movement among the Jews meant the rejection of the Zionist hope as a solution of the Jewish problem. This inception took place about twenty-five years ago, when Lieberman and Sundelevitz, talented products of Russian Jewry, published in Vienna *The Truth*, the first Socialist publication ever printed for the Jews in their own language.

Ever since, advanced ideas of collectivism and communism have found staunch and self-sacrificing adherents wherever there is a Jewish center and the pinch of poverty and the burden of joyless labor and the touch of new-time aspirations are felt. Iconoclastic, irreligious, atheistic, these growing elements of advanced idealism are; yet there is no lack of blind faith, fanaticism, and superstition among them. But these people, who had rejected Judaism to accept it again in the form of Socialism, will have nothing of Zion, or its promised "restoration." While the Zionists are zealously working for the maintenance of the sacred tongue, the preservation of the ancient faith, the regeneration of the national feeling, and the restoration of the Holy Land, their Socialist brethren are ardently laboring for the rejection of the antiquated speech, the abolition of the old-time creed, the dissolution of the national consciousness and all sectional boundaries, and the establishment of the coöperative commonwealth after the dream of the brotherhood of man. To be sure, the revolutionary idealists of the Ghetto—the Socialists, the Communists, and the philosophic Anarchists—differ widely in their aim, despite the Yiddish humorist who said that there is no difference between them, since they all want about the same thing and get just as much. Their respective ways to the millennium are ways that part, and the frequent strife among themselves and the wasting of ammunition often give peace to "the common enemy"—those who stand for things as they are.

But they are all universalists, with philosophies comprehending the salvation of the entire human race. They all unite in their hostile attitude and trenchant opposition to the Zionist movement, which they consider sectional, reactionary, and a hindrance to progress. They are sworn enemies of all movements that are narrow, national, patriotic, and aim at the elevation of any single class or people regardless of the welfare of the rest of humanity. And this war goes on in every part of the Ghetto, through the press, on the platform, in the cafés, in barber shops and stores, in the clubs, in the synagogues (not so frequently here, for few radicals venture into them), in the crowded streets, at social gatherings, in all places of public assemblage, and in hundreds of homes. Numerous tales could be told of family dissensions caused by the sore strife of ideals. It is often responsible for bitter, deep, and uprooting division between parents and children, between brothers and sisters, and others united by common blood. Most often these disputes, wherever they are carried on, take the form of profound and thoughtful argumentation, but sometimes they descend to mere squabbles in which only leaders and followers of the respective movements are discussed and often cursed.

"You—with your eternal Karl Marx!" said one enthusiast. "And you—with your everlasting Dr. Herzl and his silly scheme for a Jewish State!" retorted another partizan. And yet these two leaders of diametrically opposite movements are but a continuation of the prophets.

Some time ago the writer was one of many listeners at a striking debate devoted to the Zionist question, held under the auspices of an educational society made up of young radicals of Boston's Jewish quarter. There were many other debates given at this club, but none were so stirring, stormy, and obstreperous as this one on the question of the Holy Land, and no other public meeting of the society attracted so large a gathering of attentive and interested spectators. The question, as it read officially, was: "*Resolved*, That Zionism is the only true solution of the Jewish problem." The affirmative was held up by local members of the Zionist societies. Those who

spoke in the negative were typical radicals of the quarter. I give in substance the view presented by one of the Socialists, a young man connected with the Yiddish press and a hard worker in social reform movements.

It is doubtful, he said, whether there *is* such a thing as a Jewish problem; but if there is, it is only part of the great social problem that confronts all mankind. The oppression and persecution of the Jews, upon which the Zionists base their claim for a national home, are the same poverty and subjection that are undergone by the wage-slaves of all peoples and countries. The poor, no matter of what nationality, are everywhere dominated over, oppressed, harassed, denied the right to live, and robbed of the fruits of their labor. On the other hand, for the wealthy Jew, as well as for the wealthy Christian, every country is Palestine, and he need seek no place of refuge. It is social inequality and the unjust social system that are at the bottom of all evil. Palestine may give some relief to a few homeless Israelites, but after a while even here the people will be divided between rich and poor, oppressors and oppressed, and the bulk of the colonists will soon be confronted by the same corroding conditions they have just escaped. Besides, Palestine is barren, desolate, and sterile, and has no industrial opportunities of promise to offer. It is the soil of superstition, and the people there will go back to their fanaticism of old, and all the progress that they have made among the nations will be lost. The Jew should stay among the nations, help them in their upward struggle for a higher civilization, and aid them in the establishment of more harmonious social conditions. The Jew is a part of the country wherever he abides; he should not withdraw, and like a deserter retire into an obscure corner of the world and become a nonentity. He has ever given high ideals to the world; and now because he has suffered everything, has been everywhere, has drunk at all fountains of wisdom, and has lived to see the new dawn break upon humanity, he, the wandering Jew, is in the best position to help it to the higher harmonies of life and promote the cause of the brotherhood of man.

Zionists say that the Jewish State will be founded, as outlined by Dr. Herzl, on a Socialistic basis; that the social problem will be solved in the Holy Land, and that the ideal Democracy, which will then be established after the teachings of the ancient and modern Jewish prophets, will give the world a lofty example and teach it justice and righteousness. But you cannot solve the social problem where it does not exist. You cannot establish ideal industrial conditions where there is no industry, and you cannot form a model republic out of a pauper population; for none but the poorest and most poverty-stricken in Israel will go to Palestine.

In the world of action, in the world of industry, commerce, trade, and toil, continued the speaker, is the place to teach good lessons and make great improvements. As to anti-Semitism and prejudice and racial hatred, we cannot escape them by running away from the world: even in Palestine the Jews will be living among aliens. We must live among the nations, promote the cause of truth, and by our lives prove the absurdity of our enemies' accusations. We must wait until blind hatred and bitter jealousy will die out, as die out they surely will with the advance of civilization. We must ally ourselves with the forces of progress instead of deserting them. The Zionist, who is hostile to all the peoples of the earth, who admits that there is no place for the Jew in the whole world, who advocates separation and aloofness and constantly talks about the "superiority" of his race, takes the same premises as the anti-Semite, and is just as much in the wrong. Both Zionist and anti-Semite stand against the goal of human brotherhood. The salvation of the Jewish people lies in the salvation of the world.

The Zionists who spoke in the affirmative instanced the hardships and sufferings and trials that the Jews have undergone in all the countries—the insults, scorn, and degradation they have been subjected to, notwithstanding the glorious contributions they have made to the wisdom, the wealth, and the welfare of humanity. Israel, the light-bearer of the world, they declared, has ever walked in darkness. After hoping, waiting, and praying for centuries, we discover examples of "civilized" humanity

in the Dreyfus case, in the treatment of the Jews in Russia, in the persecutions of our people in Roumania and Galicia. This civilization is a snare and the hope for a better world—a delusion. We have tried all countries and found no haven of rest, no place of refuge. Even in this blessed land the finger of scorn is often pointed at the poor Jew. Besides, our brethren cannot all come to this country. To talk about human brotherhood while anti-Semites and darklings and fanatics are everywhere making life unbearable for our brethren is absurd. It is ridiculous to sing the "Song of the Universal" to the cries of outraged, hounded, and starving Israelites in many lands. Will you tell those crying for "a crust of bread and a corner to sleep in" to wait for the millennium? Will you, "merciful sons of the merciful," be so cruel? And you who have the welfare of humanity at heart, you devout altruists, who cherish such beautiful ideals—are you going to let your own people suffer and sorrow and sigh until your pet Utopia becomes realized? Would it not be better and wiser and more humane to begin at home to improve the condition of down-trodden Israelites? It behooves the reformer to do as much as he can to improve the condition of those near him. To wait for the coming of a perfect panacea is no better than to be utterly indifferent to their sufferings.

And what better can be done for the homeless, impoverished, and enslaved Jews than to bring them out of their bondage into the land of their fathers—create there a center of political safety, material comfort, and spiritual activity? The Sultan is willing. The Holy Land can be had, and the return of the wandering Jew to Palestine would mean a wonderful revival of Judaism. Our people would flock to that country because of the cherished associations and endeared memories that cling to it. The indigent and the impoverished would go despite all the hardships and tribulations before them. It is true, they admitted, that the advocates do not wish to go there themselves; but there are many who are homeless and who to escape persecution would willingly undergo all the suffering and toil until the dream comes true. This will be the establishment of the



Jewish State, an ideal Republic, fashioned after the teachings of the prophets and the laws of modern science. Here liberty, equality, and fraternity—in reality an old Jewish aspiration—will reign supreme; “and from Zion shall issue the law, and the word of God go forth from Jerusalem.” The world will listen, see, and understand, and again be benefited and blessed by the redeeming example of the rejected people.

Thus argued the Zionists; and Mr. Zangwill, asked to explain “why the Jews succeed,” wrote an article to prove that they do not, and to show that as a people they are a miserable failure, the bulk of them being poverty-stricken, homeless, oppressed, ignorant, and persecuted. And, in his plea for the cause to which he has recently been converted, the great interpreter of his race cries out: “Give back the country without a people to the people without a country!”

The debate I witnessed closed with even more excitement than characterized its opening; the audience, as before, was divided into two parties, each claiming to have the only right side of the argument, and a number of the speakers challenging each other to other debates. Similar and more intense contests and controversies are held in New York and in every city where there is a large Jewish population and the several varieties of idealists and dreamers are extant. Radicals often devote their speeches to bitter and vituperative attacks on the false and pretentious panacea of Zionism. They point to the fact that in the international revolutionary movement alone the Jew has been accepted on equal terms and given high places of honor, even in the most Jew-baiting countries. Singer, Bernstein, Adler, and others have been sent to the Reichstag of anti-Semitic Germany by their Socialist comrades, who knew no division caused by creed, color, nationality, or race. The Socialists were ever acrid foes of anti-Semitism, prejudice, and race hatred, and they ever defended the Jews and praised them for their visions of the future and their revolutionary efforts. Among the Socialist leaders of France, Dreyfus found some of his best friends. The very attitude of the movement toward them forecasts the position of the Jew under a Radical régime.

The hope of Israel is in the triumph of the ideals to which great Jews have given birth. These men suffered with their people, grappled with the Jewish problem, and found its only solution in the abolition of poverty and the establishment of just social conditions. As an instance, the Socialists point to their heroic leader, Ferdinand Lasalle. This is what, as a youth, he wrote in his diary: "I would not even fear the scaffold, if by this I could bring back my people to the position of an honored nation. Oh, when I give myself over to the dreams of my childhood, then I am possessed by my cherished idea—to rise in arms at the head of the Jewish people and lead them back to their place as an independent nation!" But a change came over the spirit of his childhood aspirations, and Lasalle afterward saw the emancipation of his people in "the emancipation of the *world* from the yoke of capitalism." To this day the Jewish workingmen bow their heads in reverence before the memory of that deified saint, "The Savior of the People." Said a New York agitator in a recent speech: "We who have laid a flower on the grave of Lasalle, the champion of freedom, the enemy of all tyranny, can never follow Theodore Herzl, nor countenance his servile courtings of kings and potentates. We who follow Lasalle can have nothing in common with the man who was proud to shake hands with Wilhelm the Insane."

In any of the Jewish bookstores of New York you will find a little Yiddish pamphlet on "Zionism or Socialism?"—published in Russia (underground) by the General Federation of Jewish Workers of Russia and Poland. This is an able exposition of the question as well as a most biting, bitter, sarcastic, and scathing criticism of "the misleading aim of Zionism." This writer, whose real name is for an obvious reason concealed by a pseudonym, is full of scorn, wrath, and indignation at the thought of Jewish class-conscious working people and radicals giving up their revolutionary mission for "the false hope of Zionism," and bending their proud heads in subjection to sultan or king. The middle classes and well-to-do Jews, who are in sympathy with the Herzl movement, are strongly taken to task for this, their most orthodox way of avoiding the

real issue, which is the problem of poverty and wealth over again. "The intelligent workers cannot be blinded; they know that Palestine would only mean more poverty; that the colonies now existing there have never been self-supporting; that hope for them lies only in uniting with the toilers of the world and demanding the full fruits of all their labor." As Zangwill has said, before he became a Zionist, the *Juden-weh* is only a fraction of the *Welt-weh*.

Speeches along these lines are heard in New York every day, and the enthusiastic replies from the Zionists that they bring forth cause no end of perturbation and excitement. "These radicals," said one Zionist, "who desert their own people, and embrace the whole world in a hallucination of universal brotherhood, afterward find that it was only a phantom, and that they were far, too far ahead of time." Even Daniel De Leon, the Socialist leader, whom they have raised to a high position, after a while mocks and ridicules the Jews and talks about their "long noses." There is one Zionist preacher in particular in New York who treats the universalists in a merciless, narrow, bigoted manner.

But perhaps the staunchest anti-Zionist in the radical movement is A. Frumkin, a native of Palestine, who escaped that country, because of its bigotry, narrowness, superstition, and poverty, and came to America. His father is a noted rabbi, a Hebrew publicist, and a leader of the liberal element among the Jews of the Holy Land, and the son, going a step farther, became a radical, a Communist, and could no longer remain in the land of his birth. He was for a time a compositor on the Socialist daily of New York, and the editors found that he could write so well that they made him a member of the staff. He now ranks among the ablest Yiddish journalists of New York. His papers on Palestine and its possibilities, with which he is naturally as well acquainted as any one can be, his disclosures of the ill-managed colonies, his revelations in regard to the abuses of the Jewish institutions there, and his trenchant reviews of the Zionist movement made many a startling sensation in the Ghetto. His graphic descriptions of the poverty-

stricken colonists moved many of his readers to tears. When Mr. Frumkin came here he helped his uncle, Rabbi Rodkinson, translate the Talmud into English; but his opinion of Talmudic questions differed from that of his uncle, and so, after a while, he took to typesetting, a trade he had learned on his father's publication in Jerusalem. Mr. Frumkin intends to keep up his propaganda against Zionism and to prevent as many people as he can from going to Palestine.

In the office of the *Vortwarts*, the Socialist daily, the question of Zionism recently came up. The young adherent spoke of the national fund that is now being organized in the interest of colonization, and of the large opportunities that were open in the East for the struggling, starving, suffering Jews of Europe. "Palestine can be built up even as the West was built up in this country by the men who went out there," he said.

"But this is not so," replied the editor of the paper, a noted leader of the Ghetto; "it was really the West that built up the men who went out there. The West had the material, the resources, the economic basis. This must be at the bottom of any substantial settlement or social growth. The West had the means, and only lacked the people. Palestine already has a large population, without any visible means of supporting it. Even a country without a people had better remain so if it has not the means of welfare for a population. Only such countries are holy as give people an opportunity to labor and love, live and enjoy, and bring out what is best in them. Zangwill talks about people who are willing to go to Palestine and take out their wages in religious emotion. I always say he has the heart of a poet; but we all know that the poor Jews, who have so long been deprived of the common necessities of life, would much rather go to the East End of London or the East Side of New York and work and drudge in the sweat-shops and slum factories for a piece of bread and a peaceful place to lay their heads—for a breath of freedom and a bit of hope for their children. They prefer to come here, and they become very emotional when they strike for higher wages. Yet who will

sneer at the religion of those who desire to straighten up their souls, for generations bent by the yoke of poverty?"

Such anti-Zionist views, it must be said, are shared by masses of intelligent, thoughtful Jewish working people, here as well as in the Old World; while the middle classes, the pedlers, middlemen, speculators, and business people are largely faithful followers of the movement. Between these and the former the strife of ideals goes ever on and constitutes a permanent war in the Ghetto. But in each camp there is the quality that makes its cause ring true—the quality of sincerity. Time will not utterly discredit even those who are sincere in their folly. Whatever one believes in is true, not only to his personality, but to the facts as he perceives them.

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*New York.*

## THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN.

AN article in THE ARENA for November, 1902, on "Desirable Reforms in Motherhood," seems to leave something still to be desired on behalf of the children. We are reminded by the writer that *mother* is a sacred word, full of hallowed associations, and that to become motherless is a sad fate to befall any child—all of which is undoubtedly true; but why should we continue to ignore the sacredness of *fatherhood*, and the loss the world sustains through bad and incompetent fathers?

The civilization of to-day is held back by a dead weight of barbarism and hopeless inefficiency, and since the sympathetic nerve of the social organism has been so developed that we cannot accept the advice of a late writer on heredity, and gently and painlessly put to death those who fall behind in the race and disturb the peace and order we desire to establish, we are compelled in self-defense to ask what makes it so, and seek to remove the causes.

The article referred to answers this social problem with unthinking fluency: "All the wickedness of the world can be traced to incompetent motherhood." Let us see. We will begin by examining the prison inmates, of whom we find a large majority physically deficient in some way. If we follow them back to what by courtesy we may call their homes, we are quite likely to find ourselves in the city slums, where families live in one or two rooms, for which they pay excessive rent—rooms in which privacy and cleanliness are well-nigh impossible; where the high price and poor quality of food, bad air, and lack of sunlight and drainage combine to check physical development.

Going to institutions for the care of other defectives we find on examination of the records that most of these unfortunates were born with a defective physical organization, for which, by



the way, fathers and mothers are equally responsible; and often circumstances over which they have no control are more responsible than either.

The interaction of physical, mental, and moral forces is not yet fully comprehended, but nothing is more certain than that poorly nourished, overworked, nervously exhausted fathers and mothers will produce children that are weak, unbalanced, and defective, lacking in power of resistance either to disease or temptation. In our factories and shops there are multitudes of boys and girls forced by grim necessity to long hours of exhausting toil, under very unwholesome conditions, just at the age when they should be storing up vitality for future generations.

Again, our author tells us that the best mother is the one who understands how to *work*—how to cook, how to prepare the washing, etc. Then a washerwoman in my neighborhood is well qualified for motherhood, for she can do all these things admirably and goes out washing till within two or three weeks of the birth of her babies; while her husband, who earns \$2.50 a day, comes home and abuses her because she is having babies—which necessity interrupts, ever so briefly, her possibility of wage-earning.

We hear a good deal about the "fashionable mothers" who do not want babies to interfere with their pleasures; but the story of the *fathers* who do not desire babies has never been told. It is a harrowing tale, and shall be left to a more graphic pen than mine.

The washerwoman's children, when they manage to survive, are generally neglected; but it is a hard-hearted person that can blame the *mother*.

The first great right of children is to be well born, and the second is like unto it: the right to have a good, wholesome environment. The man who said, "Give me a child until it is seven years old, and I will make it what I will," was not, after all, very wise. Emerson, who said, "I am a part of all I have met," was nearer the truth.

In my home town six boys under eleven years were arrested

for throwing a railroad switch, and the police judge gave them some fatherly advice and sent them home, because though the act was a criminal one the State does not recognize a child under ten as a criminal, knowing full well that character at that age is yet unformed. Impressions are easily made and easily effaced at that plastic period of life, and the more "delicate, hot-house care" is given to the child the more likely it is to go down before the rude blasts it is sure to encounter later on.

There are latent forces in most of us unsuspected till some circumstance reveals them—sets them loose, as it were—and we find ourselves borne irresistibly into strange waters.

The Elmira Reformatory gave the world a splendid object-lesson in demonstrating the possibility of transforming character all through the period of adolescence, and the New Psychology encourages us all by teaching that we should discipline ourselves constantly to form and to break habits as a means toward the ever-developing realization of the good in us. The women's clubs, the mothers' congresses, and even the despised "female lecturer" are helping to bring the great mass of mothers to a better understanding of their duties and their rights.

Parentage has been too long haphazard and ignorant on both sides. If a child is to go into business or a profession we recognize the need of preparation and training, but the highest and holiest function of human life is considered an "improper" subject of discussion or of education. The growing interest in physical culture gives promise of a better heredity; and the slow awakening of our educators to the fact—so succinctly stated by Oliver Wendell Holmes, I believe—that the *whole boy* goes to school, and that his hands, his eyes, his ears, and all the rest of his body need training in order to give him a good mental equipment, gives greater hope for the development of character.

If *love*, with all its blessings, came into the world through the mother, *law* is the father's gift. Some fathers have abdicated this right in family life, which is bad for the children; but they still maintain it vigorously in public affairs. Now, as in

the days of Paul, law is a schoolmaster; and it is high time to ask what are the lessons our growing youth are learning from law and its administration. Are the representatives elected to this high duty of a character to serve as models for boys? If not, what can the *mothers* do about it? Boys, you know, want to be men—do as men do and vote as men vote: and the mothers' loving wisdom can hardly prevent them.

That some of our wise women are not exactly patient under their limitations is quite true, and it is for the sake of the *child* that they are asking for a wider coöperation with men. The race can never come to its best without the united effort of men *and* women; neither one can escape the divinely appointed burden of parenthood without irreparable loss to the child.

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## A CONVERSATION.

WITH

HENRIK G. PETERSEN, M.D.,

ON

HYPNO-SUGGESTION AS A THERAPEUTIC AGENT.

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Q. Dr. Petersen, as the result of your experience and observations in Europe and through your extensive practise in Boston, do you regard hypno-suggestion as an important therapeutic agent?

A. Hypno-suggestion, which has found an ever-enlarging place in my medical work during the last twelve years, both here and in Europe, has by its scope and possibilities, beneficial facts more than expectant theories, strengthened my conviction that, scientifically understood and practised, it broadens the usefulness of an educated physician. For its greatest success it demands to be associated with the insight of an alienist and neurologist. Such is to-day the indisputable position of physicians having recognized experience and authority in this branch of medicine.

As a remedy it is an adjuvant of great efficacy in diseases of mind and body, without claiming the impossible, and admitting failures. Properly applied it is safer than drugs, quantitatively and qualitatively. It creates nothing, but corrects and cures through energized coöperation of mental and physical faculties; its efficacy being proportional to the intelligent knowledge of the physician and the non-obstructive disposition of the patient. Without establishing such a combination, the remedy remains inert and frustrates the best efforts. The preliminary work to be done is not always appreciated by the patient, who does not understand that so much has to be undone and there-

fore often undervalues what is perhaps the most essential step toward recovery. He recognizes, of course, that the process of tearing down is more rapid than that of building up, but is, nevertheless, likely to think that it should be the other way in his particular case. In laying the foundation of health, he considers the time needed for removing the old rubbish from mind and body far in excess of its necessity and importance, and the demand upon his own assistance and willingness too great. He exacts the immediate arrival of new, sound material, and that it shall be put together in time of his own choosing. If this same person were to build a house, however, he would be most punctilious as to having the foundation laid in conformity with the best sanitary conditions, allowing no decayed substance in its proximity, apt to make the cellar moldy and carry insidious disease into the house itself. Strangely enough, one often gets the impression that this building should begin with the roof, or that the whole material is to be heaped together from the very outset instead of being accessible at its proper time.

The impatience of result is one of the many obstacles that the physician has to encounter and battle against. Injurious as this is to the patient under all kinds of treatment, it is especially obstructive in suggestive therapeutics, but at the same time no method is more effective in breaking down such morbid barriers and relaxing the antagonistic tension. When the tug of war declares in favor of the physician,—and it is but a question of time, individually measured,—the reconstructive work proceeds. In the sufferer's own interest and to avoid loss of valuable time, it must be very evident that we prefer to meet with an intelligent and patient mind. If he has been made irritable and unreasonable through a long and painful illness, let this disposition be softened by a confident belief that the physician will honestly do his best and speed him on the road to recovery according to circumstances and the amount of work his condition requires. It is imperative that this belief be established, and here the physician's own individuality, in all its shades, is a factor for or against his success.

While such morbid dispositions are pathetically excusable, they generally reflect a former, strenuous life of hurry, and in this respect the American is at a decided disadvantage. Although this remark would seem to confirm an old assertion that his peculiar fiber is less suited to psychological influence and hypno-suggestion, and therefore not so widely resorted to here as in Europe, yet this purely hypothetical argument has been sufficiently controverted by experience and results. As an antidote and a protection against a nervous, self-destructive existence, no one has more need of the calming and preserving effect of hypno-suggestion than the American people, irrespective of class. If, as yet, its application is but gradually increasing, other and more palpable reasons are in evidence.

Q. What percentage of persons in your judgment may be brought sufficiently under hypnosis to render them susceptible to the positive influence of the operator?

A. By "positive influence" I understand one that leads to positive results; consequently, the only one that I recognize as remedial. According to conservative statistics, such susceptibility claims eighty per cent., comprising all degrees of hypnosis. One must bear in mind that psychological medicine is delicately adjusted as to dosage and not adapted to platform performances, where the suggestive influence is discounted and void of interest unless exhibiting the brute obedience of the body. Such positive influence we condemn as a violation of the subconscious self and its legitimate right of independence whenever the motive is not to assist it to a healthy and beneficial equilibrium. This is also the stumbling-block of inexperienced and ambitious physicians, who in their endeavor to obtain results strain delicate cords. It is only through the restraint that mental discipline and discerning knowledge give that one learns to subordinate quantity to quality. One also requires moral courage and force of character to withstand the temptation of appearing wonderfully apt before the gaze of ignorance and curiosity, and by dutiful patience to renounce rapid successes when they are not only incongruous, but even dangerous. Judge of a physician who would master pain and disease by



the use of narcotics alone, when, by gradually eradicating the causative ill, he would obtain a safe and legitimate result! A blacksmith could have done as much and been the less guilty of the two. This is not pleasant to say nor agreeable to confess, but a sensible, honest observer will recognize its truth.

It is of the greatest importance in suggestive therapeutics and a strict maxim—to aid, not to subordinate, the laws of Nature. It is true that, in the early, struggling days of developing scientifically this medical agent, the erroneous idea then prevailed that deep hypnosis was a *sine qua non* condition; but our present advance has modified this by studious experience, just as it has shortened our prescriptions and made our medicines less crude. We frequently arrive at the most satisfactory results in the lowest degrees of hypnosis, thus proving them to possess positive influence, but we must know how to follow it up and balance every advantage.

Q. Has hypno-suggestion a potentially positive ethical value? A friend of mine who has had some experience in this direction informed me that he had cured quite a number of confirmed drunkards without the aid of drugs, but simply by suggestion. He had also met with marked success in one case in curing a patient who was affected with kleptomania; and I think I have read that in Nancy thousands of morally weak children have been materially benefited through suggestive therapeutics. Have your observations and experience proved its value in this direction?

A. I answer this question decidedly in the affirmative. The information given by your friend is absolutely creditable. In other writings I have dwelt at some length upon the ethical value of hypno-suggestion in educational and reformatory work. As we know to-day the dualism of our nature, its good and bad propensities, either emphasized by a strong hereditary taint or acquired through contaminating contact in life, so we know that if we can reach deep enough, penetrate the crust that prevents light and warmth from operating beneficial changes, then these will become manifest in many and often desperate cases. Thus, the raising or lowering of the scales brings into view our virtu-

ous or vicious nature, and effective manipulation decides which one of the two shall prevail when subject to the influence of our surroundings. In ordinary, normal instances, education and example suggest sufficiently; while, for correction or eradication of vice, prisons give seldom or never ethical results. These are but walls that shut out instead of letting in moral sunshine. If hypnosis is induced to deepen suggestibility and prevent auto-suggestion, this passive state promotes cerebral automatism and strengthens the conception of the projected image. It may be called an exalted state, but only in the sense of concentration that excludes habitual or irrelevant ideation. We thus establish inhibitory or check centers, permitting control that effects the desired changes from abnormal to normal life.

The psychic field for hypno-suggestion as a physiological brain process is very large, and because it brings the operator in direct contact with the real man, appeals to him as such, strengthens his will and courage, his self-esteem, and makes the inherent desire for light, freedom, and happiness vibrate. This obtained, the scale holding his moral self begins to ascend. While this is done every day by the genuine educator and preacher, it is never done by the technical, merely polished sermonist. As hypno-suggestion commands concentration and holds it, one can easily comprehend why its effect becomes profound and finally triumphs over obstacles. If the lymph then is moral, such vaccination contains no poisonous matter. It is applied abroad, and largely, in this form, thus benefiting the degenerated ones, who are again included among those that may be fit to survive. The first evidence of its successful possibilities dates from 1886, when Dr. Bérillon, inspector of insane asylums in the department of Seine, France, laid the subject before the Congress for the Advancement of Science at Nancy, and it has been voiced still stronger through undeniable proofs at the International Psychological Congresses of 1896 and 1900 in Munich, Florence, and Paris. My own observation and experience permit me to corroborate, and therefore seriously recommend, therapeutic psychology as a

process counteracting mental and moral virus when recognized in irresistible impulse or premeditated act, whether in the family or in the community at large.

Q. I suppose that hypno-suggestion is of positive benefit in functional rather than in organic diseases. Is not this the case?

A. This question must also be answered in the affirmative, and that both as to quantity and quality. Functional diseases naturally outnumber organic ones and have unfortunately a large share in rendering life miserable, mentally and physically. As they are forerunners of final organic conditions, early discrimination and correction become imperative to prevent such degenerative stages. Although the physical sphere of action for hypno-suggestion cannot as yet be sharply defined, yet it seems principally indicated in functional diseases of the nervous system and frequently causes a complete disappearance of morbid symptoms, terminated by a radical cure. Favorable results also follow where local lesions are produced by nutritive or circulatory deficiency, as the tonic value of this remedy is quickly imparted. It has, moreover, a diagnostic value, enabling us to determine whether the cause is due to nervous reflex, or to an apparent material injury.

Concerning the assistance that hypno-suggestion can offer, and the ills it is able to relieve and cure, often in an astonishingly short time, after other remedial agents have been exhausted, I might refer you to a number of standard works, translated into English, as, for instance, those of Bernheim and Wetterstrand. The opinions they express and the facts they illustrate have been subjected to keen scientific scrutiny by the medical profession in all lands, and have passed through the ordeal with honor and confidence. Their clear, unburdened text enables the non-medical world, any one who reasons soundly and without prejudice, to obtain a vast amount of information that can but enlarge the mental horizon.

Q. Have you known any cases of organic disease that have been beneficially affected through hypno-suggestion?

A. Yes. It need not appear too great a presumption for

those whose larger experience with hypno-suggestion brings them in contact with organic disease to state that here also benefit is more the rule than the exception. It is different, however, when speaking of cure, although in some trustworthy instances such cases could be reported. Nevertheless, from a conservative point of view, we will say that cure cannot be expected. A brief explanation of these points may sufficiently elucidate the position of hypno-suggestion in regard to relief and cure of organic disease. I have already remarked that the remedy has no power to create. What is dead through preponderant decay remains a dead portion. The area of destruction can be circumscribed, and thereby we may save remaining parts, if these are still serviceable for continued mental and physical normal life, from anatomical death. This is done by its ability to infuse the adjacent parts with vitality to resist. Now, even if such arrest of decay does not mean what is generally understood as a "cure," it certainly can claim to be a benefit, and if the part already destroyed does not play an absolutely important rôle in the human economy, but leaves the sufferer more free from pain and comparatively in possession of normal life, although partly the victim of an amputation, as it were, why consider it less curative under circumstances so adverse?

In surgery it is looked upon as a success if nutritive stimulation preserves after an operation, and I believe it fair and good reasoning that we should be entitled to the same consideration if results are similar. That it can be done is undeniable, and with more certainty later when we know more through greater experience. This is not a mere assertion or utopian expectancy, and I will remind those who are aware of the suggestive effect upon the blood vessels, of their contraction and dilatation, evidenced in hypnosis by the pallor or redness of the body and the varied heart-beat and pulsation. It is, further, a well-known fact, and witnessed by visitors to the European clinics of nervous diseases, that the application of a postage stamp, suggested to be a blistering plaster, will cause all the stages of inflammation produced by a real vesicant. Just as the blood can be drawn to a part, so can it be made to depart

from it if susceptible and suggestible conditions are actively present.

The importance of such facts is self-evident in regard to mental and physical disease, functional or organic. The conclusion to which one arrives after such demonstration, in my opinion places the question of efficacy possessed by suggestive therapeutics, in organic as well as functional diseases, within the grasp of common sense and removes much hypothetical and hypercritical theorizing. As to the mental side of suffering from organic or general disease, it may be positively asserted that hypno-suggestion is in every sense superior to narcotics, which deaden pain at the expense of vital energy and are devoid of mental stimulus that gives fortitude, resignation, or hope.

Q. It has been claimed by some that hypno-suggestion tends to weaken the mind of the patient, and I think there is no doubt that in the hands of ignorant or unscrupulous persons this might be the case. If, however, the physician leaves the patient with the strong suggestion of mental strength, it would appear that the mind might be fortified rather than weakened. What are your views on this phase of the question?

A. The answer accompanying your question is correct. The hypnotic state is not analogous to cerebral neurosis, and the result is not a morbid pathological condition, but a healthy physiological brain process. The proper use of hypno-suggestion, therefore, does not tend to weaken the mind. That presumption was exploded long ago when as an argument it served the opponents of suggestive therapeutics. Accumulative medical experience in every part of the world contradicts positively any injurious effect from hypno-suggestion, rightly administered. It has no more detrimental action upon the mental equilibrium than ordinary sleep with its ever-recurring dream hallucinations and illusions during more than one-fourth of our mortal existence. There is no hypnomania, and it has never been imputed as a result. It is also erroneous to believe that there is control of the will. A person can be made to do a thing, but no one can make him will to do it. A patient gives his will to the physician in whom he has confidence, and

the two wills blend for the mutual purpose of obtaining relief, or cure. It is equally false that a person, once hypnotized, henceforth becomes subservient to another's will. The physician having the healthy and therefore the stronger will, the confident or weaker one leans upon that of his medical adviser as upon crutches as long as needed; but, having gained strength of body and mind, he stands no longer in needful, dependent relationship to former means of assistance.

In regard to the ignorant operator, the danger lies in overdoing. A brain cannot, naturally, be more exempt from the bad effects of overloading than a stomach or other organ. As before remarked, knowledge of dosage is all-important. Besides knowledge of technical conditions, the operator must understand hypnotic phenomena clinically. The method being largely a psychic one, his education should extend to a comprehensive study of psychology, so that he may early appreciate and discriminate between psychic states and their subtle manifestations in mind and body. There is no possible routine application of psychology, but a constant individualization. Therefore, an intelligent, well-trained, and educated mind, earnest self-confidence, the confidence of his patient, gentle firmness, resourcefulness, and perseverance are needed for the equipment of the operator, and will make his task easy and the results beneficial. As the ignorant one, so is the unscrupulous and malicious operator dangerous, and the more so because he may not be ignorant. If he weakens the mind, it is because he wishes to do so and does not suggest, for the protection of his patient, that only by giving his free consent can he ever become susceptible and suggestible, and then only for well-directed and beneficial therapeutic purposes.

Q. Do you regard hypnotic suggestion as of much practical value as a substitute for anesthetics in cases calling for surgical operations?

A. Severe operations have been satisfactorily performed under hypno-suggestive conditions as far back as in the days of Braid, the British surgeon and author of "Neuro-hypnotism." Of late this has been the case in dentistry as well. A



perfectly susceptible person goes through the operation without the effects accompanying chloroform or ether. Nevertheless, although it is both feasible and satisfactory, this method will not, from the emergency point of view, supplant the use of anesthetics, because no means exist whereby a person's susceptibility and suggestibility can be accurately foretold, previous to hypnosis. Chloroform and ether do not require such conditions. A sane medical man, understanding the practise of hypno-suggestion, will consequently not lose valuable time in urgent cases—in diphtheria, for instance—by first finding out whether his patient is a psychic recipient or not, and he certainly never assumes him to be, thus imperiling life by delay of immediate and absolutely sure action. Hypno-suggestion in surgical operations is, therefore, only in a degree of practical value.

Q. How does America compare with the countries of the Old World in regard to instruction and use of hypno-suggestion?

A. For about two decades the clinical teachings of hypno-suggestion have been honored by chairs of prominence in the great universities of Europe, and embodied in their medical instruction of nervous and mental diseases. Among professors of universally high standing, I need but mention my old teachers, Bernheim at Nancy, von Krafft-Ebing at Vienna, Charcot at Paris, and Forel at Zürich. The fact that seats of learning so conservative, under government control, have admitted hypno-suggestion to their course of study indicates assuredly that this branch has emerged from the doubtful and prejudicial stage. As clinical instruction it holds a position as experimental psychology of a higher degree; it is in closer touch with man and his surroundings, is individual instead of mechanical. Under such auspices, the study naturally presupposes mental maturity and adequate preparative knowledge. Thus imparted, the trustworthy source becomes a safeguard to the public. Besides, there does not exist the disadvantage of having unqualified individuals perorate and practise their tenets.

It is, unfortunately, different in America, where psychology,

in the educational as well as in the clinical sense, is very young and relegated to the text-book and the laboratory. The best educated physicians have received but a technical idea thereof and lack clinical application and experience; but, being in touch with the Old World's progressive study in this field, they can if they will appreciate its just and practical claims. The time has passed when one can afford to conceal ignorance or prejudice by a supercilious air or idiosyncrasy, and a mere smattering of knowledge throws a false light upon the subject. If the physician possesses the necessary insight, his intelligent differentiation is welcome, as frictional thought emits mental sparks, which may illuminate; but he must investigate, not theorize, before judging. It is, however, somewhat better now. Many physicians are more than interested, yet, so far as I know, they are still deprived of the important clinical experience in colleges and hospitals.

This apathetic disposition in regard to a progressive and valuable branch of medicine is singular and not characteristic of the genuine American spirit, which is eager to know and possesses talented energy to overcome difficulties. The position is not one of school, although those of the old one may not like suggestive therapeutics because apparently limiting their preference for crude medication; on the other side, the homeopaths may still be sensitive to the old charge that infinitesimal doses are nothing but suggestion. Neither position can be called scientific, and neither is tenable nor dignified. A physician does not become a "hypnotist" because he adds this efficiency to his medical knowledge. Aside from its current vulgarity, this term is properly relegated to pursuits of a limited and especial kind. A nomenclature that demands exact definitions rejects even hypnotism as insufficient and misleading in its relation to therapeutics, because hypnosis is but a part of the psychic process, a state only, of which suggestion is the dominant factor. Otherwise, a surgeon might be also called an etherizer or chloroformer. Whatever reasons may be adjudged as the true ones, the former medical opposition, which now exists as a more or less lingering paresis,

has served to create and support a multicolored number of psychologists (?), who offer to teach everything they do not know themselves, in magazines and books of nebulous verbosity, and promise to make clinical experts by correspondence, as if even boots could be fashioned without practical teaching in the workshop! It is really humiliating. Let us, then, confess that the medical attitude of haughty letting alone simply aggravates and is a poor strategy whereby to oppose presuming ignorance and imposition. I hold that the assistance which a law paragraph would furnish is of less service than the competent example of those who call that paragraph into being. Such conditions, and not because the American nature, mentally and physically, is less adapted to profit by a beneficial application of hypno-suggestion, confuse and repel a public that does not receive a clear, true image thereof from those whose liberal education should furnish the most trustworthy and experienced information. Intelligent, prudent sufferers would not then be obliged to go long distances to seek the assistance of the few in whose knowledge they have confidence, but be able to find help in their own cities and in every educated and reputable physician.

## THE IMPASSABLE GULF.

### A SOCIAL INCIDENT.

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BY LEANDER S. KEYSER.

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The skating was excellent. Over the broad river lay a coat of mail as hard as rock and smoother than polished steel. What wonder that the young people of the city made day and night hilarious, and that the clash of their skates and the sound of their merry shouts went echoing up the ravines of the high river bluffs!

None of the skaters enjoyed the winter sport more than our young friend, Clarence Danton, who, after working all day over his briefs and law books in the office, found exhilaration for both body and mind in the excitement of curveting on the ice by moonlight. It was during one of these evening outings that he had an adventure that will never be erased from his memory.

As a rule, he preferred to skate alone, keeping on the rim of the crowd and taking jaunts far up and down the river as the whim impelled him. On the evening in question he was passing near the east bank, a little above the long bridge that spanned the river at that point. A young woman was skating a short distance ahead of him, moving in the same direction. With a sense of pleasure he noted the gracefulness of her form and the skill with which she glided over the ice. Suddenly, however, one of her feet flew out from beneath her, and she tumbled in a heap into a snow-bank, uttering a low cry of fright as she fell. Of course, Clarence was young and gallant. He circled swiftly and sped to her assistance, saying as he reached her:

"I hope you aren't hurt."

By this time she had gathered herself together, and was sit-

ting demurely in the snow, holding one of her skates in her hand.

"I'm not hurt in the least," she replied, in low, musical tones. "For a wonder, too; I was going so swiftly."

"What caused the accident?"

"One of my skates came unbuckled. How I can't say. I don't think the strap is broken."

"With your permission I will examine it," he said, reaching out his hand. "If it's broken, perhaps I can mend it."

She had now risen, and he was looking her full in the face. A thrill passed through him when he saw how fair she was, her features being as symmetrical as her form was lithe and graceful. The sheen of the moonlight falling upon her seemed almost to encircle her head with a radiant crown. However, he put the braces on his excited feelings and took the skate from her hand, which he noticed was small and slender. After examining the highly polished skate, he said:

"It is quite sound. Perhaps the buckle wasn't well fastened. Allow me to put it on your shoe."

She hesitated a moment, and then thrust forward her left foot, which was as trig as the rest of her attractive figure, and he buckled the skate securely upon her dainty shoe. Having done this, he straightened up and looked smilingly down into her fair face.

"Well, this has been quite an adventure," he remarked. "It seems that we ought to be acquainted. I suppose we shall have to introduce ourselves. My name is Clarence Danton, of the law firm of Wendell & Danton."

"And I am Eunice Cartwright; I live on North Queen Street."

"I'm pleased to make acquaintance with you, Miss Cartwright. Why should we stand on the social conventions when accident or providence, or whatever it was, has brought us together in such a—a—unique way? Do you agree with me?"

"I'm very pleased to meet you, Mr. Danton," she answered, innocently.

"Shall we take a turn together on the ice?"

"If agreeable to you," she consented, after a slight pause.

As he took her arm, he experienced another thrill; for surely she was a most captivating girl, and her voice, speech, and lady-like manner told him that she was not without a fair degree of culture. Her modest demeanor was certainly very taking.

Afterward he often looked back to that night upon the glittering ice as one of the idyllic episodes of his life. Up and down the river they sped, now on one side, now on the other, curving gracefully hither and yon, the girl responding to every movement on his part almost as if she could interpret his thoughts. Thus the hours flew until the town clock struck eleven, when she said:

"It is time for me to go home, Mr. Danton."

"May I go with you?"

A slight shudder passed through her frame.

"My brother was to meet me, but in some way we must have missed each other," she replied.

"Your brother's services aren't needed," he declared, warmly. "Permit me to take his place."

"If you will be so kind," she responded, after a moment's hesitation, during which a strangely constrained expression came to her face. "I really fear, though, I oughtn't to trouble you to accompany me home, as I—I—am—as you are—that is, as we are strangers; but I can't go home alone at this time of night."

"Indeed you can't, and you mustn't. I shall not let you. No doubt it was my fault that your brother missed you, and so I must bear my punishment as gracefully as I can."

She laughed musically at this, and took his proffered arm, though not without a slight show of reluctance, and the young couple walked up the street, conversing in low and earnest tones. She was quiet and modest, and he mentally decided that she was beautiful, albeit he had seen her only by moonlight. But there was something about her manner, a kind of constraint, that mystified him.

How should he contrive to see her by daylight? If she was as beautiful and good as she appeared, it would be worth his



while to cultivate her acquaintance. What young, unmarried man would not have thought the same? As they neared her home, he asked, tentatively:

"Do you ever skate in the daytime?"

"Oh, yes, indeed!" she replied. "I'm so fond of the exercise that I can't get enough of it. I expect to make use of the ice while it lasts."

"Shall you skate to-morrow?"

"I intend to spend a couple of hours in that way to-morrow afternoon."

"Would you care if I should meet you then?"

The girl started, and seemed to shrink from him with a shudder. After a moment's thought, she replied:

"You may come if you wish."

"Thank you, Miss Cartwright. It will be a rare pleasure."

By this time they had reached her gate. The home was a neat and modest cottage in the suburbs, everything about it betokening thrift and cultivated taste. He bade her good-night and walked home in a highly exhilarated frame of mind, and spent most of the night tossing on his bed, thinking about the fair girl.

The next afternoon he met her on the ice, and noted with a thrill of delight that she was even more fascinating than he had supposed, her complexion being of that clear, pearl-like fairness that always challenges the masculine admiration, while her lips were ruby in their redness. Clarence was now deeply in love, and was resolved to know more about this lovely girl who stirred his heart as no other had ever done and at the same time mystified him. Of course, most men rather like a mystery. At parting he asked the privilege of spending the evening with her on the ice. What made her hesitate, and flush, and start as if she were on the point of refusing and making a confession? His pulse almost stood still as he waited for her answer. But she consented, although her eyes dropped before his intent gaze.

He waited for the evening's tryst with what patience he could command. It was an ideal moonlight night, and the

young couple fairly reveled in their favorite recreation. Clarence was in an ecstasy of delight. In the twenty-six years of his life he had admired many a beautiful girl, but none had ever before stirred him beyond the feeling of admiration.

It was a foregone conclusion that he would escort her home that evening. It was about ten o'clock when they arrived at the little gate. A light shone in one of the rooms of the cottage, showing that some of the girl's friends were still up; but the window curtains were closely drawn, so that Clarence could not see within. He wished she would invite him to step in and spend an hour in social chat. At all events, he was loath to say good-night without making another appointment.

"Miss Cartwright," he began, "I fear the ice won't last very long, and so I think we ought to improve our opportunity. Shall we skate again to-morrow night?"

He could see that her face had turned as white as the petal of a lily. She caught her breath, and her bosom throbbed painfully. Evidently the girl was violently agitated. It was some seconds before she could master her emotions sufficiently to speak.

"No, Mr. Danton, I cannot go with you again; indeed, I must not!" she said, carefully controlling her voice.

"Why, Miss Cartwright," he exclaimed, "I'm surprised at this. I can't understand you at all. We have had so much pleasure together—at least, it has been a rare delight to me, and I fancy that you, too, have not been displeased. Why shouldn't we continue our acquaintance?"

"We mustn't meet again," she replied, decisively.

"You can't mean it, Miss Cartwright! Is my company offensive to you?"

"By no means, my good friend," she hastened to say. "I frankly confess that I have never spent two pleasanter evenings than the last two have been. But, I repeat, our acquaintance must stop here."

"Why do you say that, Miss Cartwright?" he protested, almost angrily.

"There is very good reason, or I shouldn't say it."

"But I can't be satisfied to be dismissed in this mysterious way. For my own peace of mind, please let me have some clue to this strange proceeding."

She dropped both hands to her sides with an air of utter abandon, as if despair had seized her, and then said:

"Do you still persist? Well, if you must know, come into the house a minute or two, and you will discover the reason of this 'strange proceeding,' as you call it, and I think you will be satisfied to say good-by forever."

"I'm willing to take the risk," he stoutly declared.

With throbbing pulse he followed her through the door. She led him into a warm and cozy sitting-room, where two persons, a man and a woman, sat reading by an electric light. They turned toward the young people as they entered the room.

"Mr. Danton, permit me to introduce you to my parents," the girl said, in low, even tones.

A great gulf suddenly seemed to yawn before the young man—between the girl and himself—a gulf that was impassable.

"Your parents, Miss Cartwright! Good heavens!" he gasped, unable to hold back the speech. "Why, they are—they are——"

"Say it right out, Mr. Danton!" she challenged, defiantly. "They are mulattoes, although almost as white as you are."

"You can't mean it, Miss Cartwright!" he cried.

"I do mean it," she retorted, holding up her head imperiously. "Do you suppose I would deny my parentage? As you see, I have a strain of negro blood in my veins. Whether I am proud of that fact or not can make no difference to you. Forgive me," she added, more gently, "for my apparent deception. When I first met you last night I thought, in the dim light of the moon, that you might belong to my class of mixed blood, as your complexion is somewhat dark. Our meeting yesterday corrected that error. Besides, I wanted to know whether I am really so fair that a stranger would not detect the negro strain even by day."

During this speech Clarence Danton was growing pale and crimson by turns, unable to utter a word.

"But you talk like an educated girl," he managed to say, after some moments of painful hesitation.

"Oh, as for that," she replied, "I graduated from the city high school, and have been a student and diligent reader ever since."

There was another embarrassing silence.

"And now good-night," she added, presently. "I think you are satisfied now to cut short our acquaintance at once."

"Good-night, Miss Cartwright," he said, with not a little regret in his tones. "I suppose we must part; but, believe me, I shall always think you as good and noble as you are beautiful. Will you shake hands?"

They clasped hands for a moment, and then he rushed from the door—and spent the rest of the night in walking the streets and curveting on the ice, his thoughts too agitated to permit him to sleep. The next morning he returned to his office looking quite haggard.

This incident occurred between fifteen and twenty years ago. Clarence Danton is to-day a successful lawyer. No one save the parties concerned knows aught of his adventure. He smiles a little sadly, however, when he says to his friends, as he frequently does:

"The race problem is one of the most complicated problems with which the American people have to deal."

## TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

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### IMPORTANT WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

#### I. OUR GREATEST SOURCE OF MATERIAL WEALTH.

Few people are aware of the magnitude or the beneficial character of the work being carried forward by the Department of Agriculture; yet it is one of the most effective feeders and fosterers of national wealth that challenge the support of the people. Indeed, it is doubtful whether any other special appropriation in recent years has even measurably so increased the material wealth of the nation as have the sums that have been grudgingly appropriated for this Department. We have been so long accustomed to listen to the special pleadings of the protected manufacturers, who have enlarged on the vast importance of our commercial superiority and the material wealth of our manufacturing industries, that many have come to imagine that the manufacturing interests of the Republic overshadow in commercial importance and wealth-producing value any other branch of productive industry. And yet, according to the last census, the agricultural industries of the United States tower above all the material wealth-producing agencies.

"Products of agriculture," says Secretary Wilson in his recent report, "form about two-thirds of our entire export trade." Our exports from the farms during the year 1901 amounted to \$860,000,000. The facts disclosed by the last census are well calculated to astound the general reader, because the phenomenal growth of agriculture is seldom enlarged upon in the public prints. Thus, for example, the fixed capital of agriculture in the United States in 1900 amounted to \$20,436,000,000, divided as follows: 5,740,000 farms, comprising 841,000,000 acres, of which, however, a little less than half is at present improved land. (The value of these farms is \$16,675,000,000.) Farm implements and machines on the farms, not

included in the above estimate, \$761,000,000. Live stock on the farms, over \$3,000,000,000.

The output from the farms for the year 1899 aggregated nearly \$5,000,000,000. The imagination staggers before figures that reach the billions, and perhaps we can better comprehend the significance of the report if we notice a few of the leading sources of agricultural wealth. Thus, for example, the value of the maize or Indian corn crop alone reached the enormous aggregate of \$828,000,000; while wheat and oats amounted in value to \$587,000,000. The yield of cotton amounted to \$224,000,000, while the value of the live stock sold and slaughtered during the year reached an aggregate of over \$900,000,000. The value of the dairy products—milk, butter, and cheese—was \$472,000,000. Eggs and poultry amounted to \$281,000,000.

The great industries that represent this vast investment of wealth—industries that so largely sustain the life of our eighty million inhabitants—afford employment to over ten million persons. As the total number of those engaged in "gainful occupations" is, according to the census, but twenty-nine million people, it will be seen that agriculture claims more than one-third; while forty million, or fully one-half of our entire population, live on farms.

Another interesting and important fact disclosed is that there are over three million more persons engaged in agriculture than are employed in manufacturing and mechanical occupations in the Republic. These facts not only show that agriculture is our greatest source of material wealth, but also suggest the vital importance of a liberally sustained Department whose work shall assist in the beneficent labor of making two blades grow where one formerly grew, or of utilizing in a productive manner hitherto barren and waste lands and of wonderfully diversifying and improving crops and successfully battling against the natural enemies in the plant and animal worlds.

## II. THE WIDE SCOPE AND PRACTICAL CHARACTER OF THE WORK.

It would require far more space than is at our command to enumerate in full the distinctive lines of practical work being effectively carried on in the interest of the Republic by the Agricultural Department. The mere mention of a few will, however, indicate something of the scope and importance to the nation of the efforts being scientifically and systematically pushed forward:



(1) The introduction of grains and other seeds, of desirable trees and shrubs, many of them fruit and nut bearing, and of animals from foreign lands.

(2) Effective work in combating the enemies of plant and animal life that imperil the wealth-producing crops.

(3) Introduction and cultivation of hardy and disease-resisting varieties of plant and animal life.

(4) Systematic study of soils to ascertain and demonstrate how land in various sections, now idle or of little productive value, may be utilized in highly profitable ways.

(5) The establishment of experiment stations and the dissemination of important information to the millions engaged in agricultural pursuits.

(6) Coöperation in object-lesson road work and in otherwise fostering efforts to build great permanent highways throughout the Republic.

(7) The introduction of special varieties of plants that thrive in regions hitherto not utilized; as, for example, the malaria-breeding swamps of the South, the rocky slopes of the mountains and the arid plains and alkali expanses of the West and Southwest.

Thoughtful men and women will readily understand the immense importance to the nation of work that results in the transforming of swamp-lands into vast fields of rice; in barren mountain sides made beautiful with vineyards laden with purple, ruby, and emerald wealth; in vast arid plains waving with the golden wealth of the macaroni wheat—land that had hitherto lain unimproved because the light fall of rain seemed to make its cultivation impracticable. Now, these things have resulted very largely through the initiation or the fostering care of the Agricultural Department, and they are merely typical of the far-reaching work in that direction being effectively carried on.

At present the Department is engaged in the introduction of the date-palm into the Southwest. If the experiment prove the success that is anticipated, vast tracts of arid plains in New Mexico, Arizona, and southeastern California can be rendered immensely valuable by the cultivation of this delicious fruit.

In like manner experiments are being made that promise to be successful in the introduction of Turkestan alfalfa and of certain special varieties of cotton in the alkali regions of the Southwest, which have hitherto been regarded as valueless for raising plants. The potential commercial and national im-

portance of this work is forcibly illustrated in the phenomenal growth of the rice and macaroni culture. In these instances the expenditure of small amounts by the Department has led to the development of industries that utilize enormous tracts of hitherto idle land, give employment to an army of individuals, and increase the national wealth many millions of dollars per annum.

### III. THE RISE OF THE RICE INDUSTRY.

It was about eighteen years ago when the more enterprising farmers of Louisiana, who were attempting to raise rice, began to introduce improved machinery and methods of cultivation. With the employment of labor-saving machines, improved plows, harrows, seeders, and reapers, the cost of production was greatly reduced. The result of the experiment, however, could not be said to be satisfactory, as the percentage of broken grain was so great as to make the crop of little commercial importance, the Louisiana rice bringing only the price of a second-class product. At this juncture the Department of Agriculture came to the aid of the rice-growers. It was believed that varieties could be found that would prove of sufficiently high milling qualities to make the American product equal to the best grown abroad. The Department accordingly sent an expert to Japan, who after careful search found in the Kiushu rice a variety that promised to give the desired results. Experiments fully confirmed the accuracy of the agent's conclusions, and the great drawback to the cultivation of rice was overcome.

As soon as the result of the successful experiments had been made public, a general movement was inaugurated looking toward transforming the vast malaria-breeding swamps of Louisiana, eastern Texas, and other Gulf States into rice plantations. Not less than \$20,000,000 was quickly invested in the industry, and in 1900 about 8,000,000 more pounds of rice were produced than in the preceding year; while in 1901 65,000,000 more pounds were produced than in 1900. The result of this rapid transformation of idle swamps into rice plantations was seen in the decrease in three years of the imported rice from 154,000,000 pounds to 73,000,000 pounds; and from the present outlook the day is at hand when the United States will be a great rice-exporting nation.

## IV. THE RISE OF THE MACARONI WHEAT INDUSTRY.

Another typical illustration of the practical work of the Department is found in the introduction of the macaroni wheat and the surprisingly rapid development of the industry in our land. The United States has been importing about \$800,000 worth of macaroni annually. This popular food product is made from a special kind of wheat, which, up to a few years ago, had never been given a thorough trial in this country. With the enterprise that has characterized the Department during the last decade, however, a quantity of macaroni wheat was secured and experiments in several widely distant parts of the Northwest were made. The result was most gratifying. The wheat was found to thrive excellently in regions too arid for other wheat to be grown, while in many of the fine wheat-growing belts it was found that the macaroni wheat yielded from one-third to one-half more per acre than the other kinds. The success of this experiment was most pronounced from the beginning, and not only was a good foreign market ready to purchase the wheat but American enterprise was quick to act. Large mills were built and macaroni factories started. In his recent report Secretary Wilson, in noting the progress of this experiment, observes that—"About 2,000,000 bushels have been harvested this season, but this will not meet the demand for it coming from all quarters. The macaroni made from the wheat is pronounced equal if not superior to the imported product."

These two illustrations are typical of the commercial importance of the work of the Department in the introduction of food products that enormously add to the real material wealth of the nation.

Equally valuable and indeed potentially promising far greater results is the soil survey work, by which the Government is examining the soil and climatic conditions in various sections with a view to aiding agriculturists greatly to increase the productive value of lands through devoting them to the special crops for which the soil is best adapted, and pointing out how much waste and idle land can be made enormously profitable through the introduction and cultivation of fruit, vegetable, cereal, and forage plants.

A very interesting illustration of the practical value of this work and also of the aid extended by the Department in the introduction of valuable new crops is found in the introduction of shade-grown Sumatra tobacco in Connecticut.

## V. SUMATRA TOBACCO IN THE CONNECTICUT VALLEY.

Some years ago the soil survey experts became convinced that Sumatra tobacco could be raised in the valley of the Connecticut River, provided the plants were shaded. The cost of the frame-work and coverings would be great at the outset, but it was believed from the character of the soil that a wrapper every whit as fine as that imported annually at a cost of about \$6,000,000 could be raised on this soil, which otherwise was of comparatively little value. So strong was the conviction of the Government experts on soil and on tobacco-growing, that they succeeded in interesting a few farmers and tobacco raisers in Connecticut. These men offered to go in in a coöperative way, provided the Department would furnish gratis experts to oversee the work, the farmers paying all other expenses. The proposition was accepted on the condition that the Government should superintend the sales, as it was desired to make the test complete, not merely as to the feasibility of raising but as to its commercial importance if successful, and also because the Department wished to follow up the investigation and trace the result of the product in the finished cigars.

Accordingly, a little over thirty-five acres was cultivated under shade at an average cost of \$657.17 per acre, not counting the value of the land, barns, or storehouses, but including the frames, which it is estimated will last for six or eight years. The total cost of production amounted to \$23,579.26. The yield was sold at auction at Hartford and brought an average of \$1.20 per pound, the entire crop bringing \$49,255.20, or a net profit to the growers of \$25,675.94. The average net profit per acre was \$715.63. The Department carefully followed its investigations by inquiring from the manufacturers of cigars who had bought the tobacco. The results were highly gratifying, the manufacturers agreeing that, save for the fact that about nine per cent. of the leaves were not so fine in color as the Sumatra tobacco, in other respects they were better than the imported product.

This result was so satisfactory that last year thirty-eight growers in Connecticut and Massachusetts put in 645 acres of shade tobacco. At the time the Secretary prepared his last report the tobacco promised to be better than that of the preceding year. On this report the Secretary based the estimated value of last year's crop at \$960,960, with a net profit to the growers of over one-half a million dollars. The Secretary believes that the success of this experiment has been so con-

clusive that, instead of the United States paying out from five to six million dollars every year for the imported article, our own farmers will be producing all that is required.

There are few other places in the United States where the soil promises such results as have been attained in the Connecticut Valley, but the Government is now carrying on experiments in three or four widely separated localities where there have been found small tracts of land that it is believed will produce an excellent article.

Another almost equally interesting chapter might be written showing how through the investigation of the soil survey experts large tracts of idle land, regarded as practically useless, have been utilized for orchard and vineyard purposes, to the great benefit of numbers of industrious workers and the augmentation of the national wealth; but sufficient has been said to show how the material enrichment of the Republic is being conserved by this division of the Department's labor.

#### VI. FIGHTING THE ENEMIES OF VALUABLE PLANT AND ANIMAL LIFE.

There is another line of work that probably equals, if indeed it does not exceed in its value to the agricultural interests of the Republic, any other branch of its labors, and that is the systematic and scientific attempt to combat the destructive influences of the enemies of valuable plant and animal life. Two principal lines are followed in this work. The first embraces laboratory experiments in search of chemical exterminators, and the investigation of efforts in other parts of the world where the pests have been substantially controlled. Also in many instances, as when the scale and other forms of life have been introduced from foreign lands, agents have been sent to the countries from which the pests came, and here they have usually found other forms of insect life that so prey upon the objectionable intruders that they are not able to multiply to a sufficient number to become a real scourge. In such instances great efforts have been put forth to introduce these insects into this land, in order that they may feed upon the pests; and this work has been measurably successful in several instances, notably where a species of ladybird has been introduced from Australia and New Zealand to feed upon certain forms of scale that are ravaging the citrous trees of the Pacific Coast. Other varieties of ladybirds are being introduced from China with a similar purpose in view.

The second course pursued by the Department is the introduction of more hardy and disease-resisting varieties of plants, fruits, and animals where any species appears to be unable successfully to withstand its enemies or climatic conditions. Among many other experiments at the present time a systematic effort is being made to introduce hardy oranges that will withstand considerable frost, and cotton that will resist the blight and the insect life that has been ravaging many sections during recent years.

The publication of practical treatises on the most important subjects at short intervals and their wide dissemination are also having an immensely valuable influence. It is in fact serving as an agricultural schoolmaster whose lessons are reaching the most thoughtful and enterprising of our farmers and horticulturists in every section of the Republic.

In discussing this great work we have found it impossible more than to mention a few of the leading lines of research and practical work being carried on, and to cite a few typical illustrations, which while highly interesting fairly indicate the inestimable value of the labor being performed. We believe there is no Department at Washington to-day in which the true American can take greater pride than in that devoted to the enlarging, fostering, and developing of the agricultural resources of the United States.

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#### BENEFACTIONS THAT REPRESENT HIGH-HANDED PLUNDER.

Toward the close of last year some of the great railway corporations announced with a flourish of trumpets that they would make a substantial raise in the wages of their employees on or about the first of the year, at which the corporation-owned dailies immediately lighted their censers and began religiously to burn incense before the shrine of beneficent feudalism. While, however, these faithful servants were in the midst of their acts of adoration the announcement was made of an increase of freight rates that will take from the shippers and consumers of the Republic and put into the pockets of the railroad corporations several millions more annually than the amount of the increase in the wages of the employees. In other words, the American people are called upon, directly or indirectly, not only to pay the increase in the wage of the working-



men, but also to add other millions to the plethoric pockets of the Wall Street gamblers and the railway magnates.

Next came the Steel Trust, with the announcement of a profit-sharing plan by which its employees are to become stockholders in the concern, through a sum of money being set aside to buy preferred stock for this purpose. This proposition was hailed with delight by the corporation journals, doubtless partly because it served to divert the attention of the public from the ugly discussion called forth by the joyous report of the enormous acquired wealth of the Trust during the last year. It will be remembered that the report showed that after meeting all expenses, including an appropriation of \$24,500,000 for repairs and maintenance of works and \$113,000,000 for running expenses, it had a net profit of \$81,500,000, most of which had been made out of American consumers; for at the time of the publication of the report Mr. Schwab stated that they had been too busy at home to pay much attention to working up their trade abroad. The joyous showing of the Trust called forth the exposure of the fact that this phenomenal profit was largely due to the shameless extortion rendered possible by the influence that the steel interests had been able to exert in government, resulting in the securing of a protective tariff by which the Steel Trust was able to and did charge every American buyer from six to eleven dollars more a ton for every ton of steel bought than the Trust charged for the steel that it sold in London; while, furthermore, Mr. W. C. Whitney declared that "we are able to produce steel here cheaper than it can be produced abroad, notwithstanding our higher wage." The pitance paid in preferred stock to employees would only represent a moiety of the amount that the Trust has extorted and is daily extorting from American consumers over and above what it charges for the same product when sent to Europe or out of the United States.

Next came the much-heralded Standard Oil beneficence, by which it was announced that the employees who had been fortunate or unfortunate enough to reach the age of sixty-five years, and who had furthermore been in the employ of the Standard Oil Company for a quarter of a century, were to have a pension. But do not for a moment imagine that the ever-growing dividends of this great corporation are to be diminished by this step. No. The recent high-handed plunder of the American people by this father of American monopolies and most iniquitous of all Trusts would enable it to pay pension claims for years to come, and yet have additional millions for

other purposes, as will be seen by a glance at the facts relating to its last stupendous moral crime.

On the 20th of September, 1902, coal oil was wholesaling in bulk in New York at seven and one-half cents a gallon; but, when the price of coal ran up to from ten to fourteen dollars a ton and the poor turned for relief to petroleum, the rapacious Trust immediately increased the price of the oil, and between the twentieth of September and the twentieth of December the price was advanced four times, so that on December 20 oil was wholesaling in New York at four cents a gallon more than it was three months earlier. On that date the New York *American* published a table showing what the increase meant, based on the sales for 1902, which was as follows:

Refined oil sold by the Standard Oil Company..	2,337,000,000 gals.
Value of same on September 20, at 7½ cents..	\$175,312,500
Value on December 20, at 11½ cents.....	268,812,500
The increase in profits per year.....	93,500,000

It can be readily seen that, with an increase on its already enormous profits of over ninety million dollars per year, this corporation could easily set aside, say, twenty-five million dollars for pensions, twenty-five million for influencing legislation and public opinion-forming agencies and for further intrrenching itself in the general government,—if that be possible,—and thirteen million for leading members of the corporation to use in indirect bribery of churches and educational institutions by donations, and yet have a residue of thirty million dollars in addition to its formerly immense revenue, all of this ninety-odd million dollars being blood-money wrung from the misery of the American people.

Nor is this all. Another strong sidelight has recently been thrown upon this company, as will be seen from the following news item. On January 15 State Senator John A. Hawkins introduced a bill in the Legislature at Albany aimed at "the suppressing of human slavery as practised by the Standard Oil Trust." This bill prohibits the twelve hours and the twenty-four hours every alternate Sunday that, it is charged, is enforced on employees of the Trust, and makes it a misdemeanor to work them more than ten hours a day, or sixty hours a week:

Senator Hawkins, in explaining his motive, said:

"Evidence has reached me that the Standard Oil Trust is treating its employees like white slaves. Even the two-dollar-a-day man is compelled to work twelve and sometimes more hours without extra pay. Every other Sunday the men are on duty twenty-four hours at a

stretch. No human being can endure this. I, for one, intend that the cruelty shall be stopped. Perhaps the good Mr. Rockefeller could with advantage take up the task of reform, and maybe the members of his Bible class would gladly aid in releasing his employees from bondage."

Such is the vaunted beneficence of these predatory bands called Trusts, which the capitalistic journals are just now so wildly applauding.

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### THE PEOPLE'S RULE VS. THE RULE OF THE CORPORATIONS.

The most important non-partizan movement in the interest of free or truly republican government that has been inaugurated this year was recently started in Massachusetts under the leadership of the Hon. George Fred Williams, bearing the name of "The People's Rule." Members of all political parties belong to the organization and are actively engaged in federating into a compact organization all voters who believe in the three vital demands of the movement, which are: (1) Direct Legislation. (2) Popular ownership of public utilities. (3) Restriction of the power of judges in equity to fine and imprison citizens without the accused having the right of trial by jury.

The aims of the new movement are set forth in the following statement:

"Great social, political, and economic changes, involving incalculable consequences to humanity, are now being forced upon us, and in them the people's interests seem to be feebly guarded. There is, therefore, supreme necessity in our politics for the impulse of a public opinion, directly, boldly, and decisively expressed. We believe this impulse will be furnished by an organization of voters of all parties, with a new purpose, a new method, and a new program. We suggest:

"The purpose—to restore, extend, and effectuate the sovereignty of the popular will.

"The method—to force our principles upon the parties and insist upon their loyalty thereto.

"The program—three articles of faith:

"First, direct legislation, or the right of the people at the polls to vote laws or veto legislation.

"Second, the ownership by the people of public utilities.

"Third, a restriction upon the power of judges in equity to take the liberty of the citizen without trial by jury.

"We do not propose a new political party, but an organization within which members of any party may unite to bring their party to the support of our principles. We would organize for the distribution of literature, for full and free debate and for questioning and pledging candidates, to the end that our politicians, officials, and legislatures may be turned from mastery to service of the people.

"The name of the organization shall be 'The People's Rule.'

"The various organizations shall be known as 'councils,' and be identified by the name of the political subdivision to which they belong.

"The council units shall be towns and wards, but a provisional State council shall be formed at once to promote immediate local organization, secure State headquarters, and perfect a plan for adoption by the members as a permanent State council.

"Unions of local councils may be formed temporarily or permanently in any political subdivision of the State.

"A citizen of the State may become a member by signing his name and post-office address to the pledge printed below, and sending the same to the State treasurer with the sum of 25 cents.

"Any member paying the established dues shall retain his membership until he resigns, violates his pledge, or is removed by vote of a majority of the local council of which he is a member."

At the present time there is probably a large majority of the rank and file of the voters belonging to both the Republican and Democratic parties in most of the Northern States, who have given any thought to the subject, who are strongly in favor of the principles of Direct Legislation; while a very large proportion—though probably not so many—are also in favor of the popular ownership and operation of public franchises. And yet, thanks to the power of the corporations, the party bosses, and the political machines, the wishes and desires of these individuals find no expression in the party platforms. Wherever the people have been enabled to vote on Direct Legislation in a non-partisan way they have voted overwhelmingly in favor of it; while the recent brazen-faced robbery of all the people by the Beef Trust, the Oil Trust, the Coal Trust, and all the other predatory bands down to the Pin and Needle Trust, has been so notorious and so oppressive that hundreds of thousands of members of both the great parties who heretofore have been opposed to governmental ownership or control of monopolies are now heartily in favor of at least public ownership of the natural monopolies, because they recognize the fact that the power and the extortions of the Oil Trust, the Beef Trust, and the Coal Trust have all been rendered possible through the railroad corporations acting with the predatory bands against the interests of the people. "The key-note,"

rightly observes Mr. Williams, "of monopoly in this country is the transportation system. The Standard Oil Company and the Beef Trust were built upon railway discriminations, which can ruin all competition. The Coal Trust lives upon its possession of the railroads, the Steel Trust upon its ownership of the lines of transportation from ore beds and upon railway rates discriminating against competition. The tremendous fabric of monopoly in this country will never be shaken until the people have possession of the avenues of trade and passenger transportation, just as they now have control of the highways."

The more the thoughtful citizens meditate upon this question of governmental ownership, the more clear it appears to the great majority of them that it is one of the most urgent demands of the present hour. An illustration of this character is given by Mr. Williams in the following words, when referring to the call for the new movement:

"Within the last hour a prominent Republican, to whom I gave a copy of the call in confidence a week ago, has called at my office. When I gave him the call he read it and said he regretted that he could not agree with me on the question of public ownership of public utilities, because he feared the influence of the politicians in such great business enterprises.

"I asked him if it is not true that our legislatures to-day are held captive by the private owners of these public utilities, and whether the post-office employees were invading our legislatures with corruption funds and lobbies; in other words, whether the evil of extending the public service could by any possibility be equal to the terrible effects which have come to our Republic from the ownership of these utilities by private individuals.

"This morning he appeared and with great enthusiasm stated that as he reflected upon this plan it seemed to him to be almost a plan for saving the country; that he had discussed it with some of the leading men, mainly Republicans, in his town, and found a remarkable welcome from almost all of them to the idea."

We know of no movement that promises so quickly to meet in a successful manner the existing perils as this federation for the People's rule. If reformers, the labor organizations, and thoughtful, patriotic citizens generally in the various States will follow the initiative taken by the Massachusetts statesman, the knell of the power of the corrupt corporations, party bosses, and political machines will be sounded, and the people will enjoy a renaissance of republicanism that shall not only renew

the nation but place it in the position to accomplish the next great progressive step—that of securing justice for all the people through coöperation, without the shock of arms or the destruction that always attends revolutions of force. For this reason the thoughtful conservatives no less than the earnest and conscientious reformers should everywhere welcome this outspoken stand for "The People's Rule."



## BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.\*

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IN OUR MIDST. The Letters of Callicrates to Dione, Queen of the Xanthians, concerning England and the English. Anno Domini 1902. Review of Reviews Annual. Paper, 112 pp. Price, one shilling. London, W. C.: *Review of Reviews* Office, Mowbray House, Norfolk Street.

It has for many years been the custom of Mr. Stead to publish an Annual, in which important events intimately connected with Anglo-Saxon civilization are discussed in the easy, flowing style of this always entertaining and suggestive writer.

This Annual is especially notable, being an impressive satire on the England of to-day, and illustrates in a striking manner the "unctuous rectitude," to use the apt phrase of the late Cecil Rhodes, of the Anglo-Saxon world with its lofty pretensions, so conspicuously at variance with its unworthy practises. The romance that serves as a vehicle for the satire, though somewhat conventional in that it is not unlike those employed by numerous authors of social visions, is nevertheless quite ingenious. There is scarcely more to it than to the plot of a comic opera, as will be seen from the following outline:

In darkest Africa, surrounded by the Mountains of the Moon, exists, according to the vivid imagination of our author, a wonderful little kingdom ruled by women. Its founders were a partly Hellenized body of people who worshiped Cybele, the "Divine Mother," and held to the idea of the supremacy of woman, at least in government. The founders came from Phrygia, in the legendary age when the Amazons were being sorely pressed by the masterful tribes that surrounded them. After threading their way up the valley of the Nile to the rich, beautiful, and secluded realm upon which they settled, they founded the Xanthian State, erected noble temples to the Divine Mother, placed a guard of Amazon soldiers as a cordon around their frontiers, and decreed that any outsider who invaded their territory should be immediately offered up as a sacrifice to Cybele. And for thousands of years this edict was rigidly enforced; but it chanced that one day an English missionary,—one Francis Tressidder,—who had been twenty years evangelizing in the Dark Continent, crossed the borders. He was immediately seized and taken to the temple, but his life was spared because the Queen was at the point of death, and according to the law the sacrifice had to be made in her presence.

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\*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

In the temple the priestesses used only the ancient Greek language in its purity, and Tressidder, being a Greek soldier, learned from the priestesses of the condition of the Queen. He thereupon offered to try to cure her, as he was skilled in the healing art. Amazed to find one speaking their language, the priestesses brought him to the palace, where he effected the cure of the queen, who in turn accepted him as a divine messenger sent from Cybele.

But Tressidder was nothing if not a missionary. He longed with all the fire of a religious fanatic to Christianize the Xanthian State. He had left England when that nation was in one of her nobler moods. Moreover, his life had been so wrapped up in religious devotion that he had known little of the world beyond the narrow sphere of his pious duties, and absence like distance lends enchantment to the vision. England, to the idealist missionary, twenty years an exile, represented the flowering of the Christian ideal in a great State. Therefore, he sought to bring the Xanthians to imitate the Christ ideal, to disarm the Amazons, to abolish the dances in the temples, to banish all fermented drinks, and to lead them in other ways to conform to the most austere religious concepts; while all the time he held up England as the ideal land where the religion of Christ found its fullest and most happy expression. His power over the Queen and her chief counselor, Callicrates, enabled him to effect many of his desired reforms, and emboldened by his success he one day strove to force the Pauline doctrine of the subjection of woman upon the woman-ruled land that gloried in the worship of the Divine Mother. This was too much. He was a second time arrested, and but for the esteem of the Queen would have been summarily offered up as a living sacrifice in the temple of Cybele.

The Queen, however, determined to send Callicrates, who during the missionary's stay had learned the English language, to Great Britain to see if Christianity had in deed and in truth made a paradise of one spot in the world, insuring the triumph of peace, love, justice, good-fellowship, and progress, as the missionary averred. If, she declared, the reports of her counselor should confirm the statements of the missionary, she would agree to the introduction of the fundamental reforms. If, on the other hand, the teacher had prevaricated, he should die.

On arriving in England Callicrates is amazed at the material progress and superiority of the British. In this respect he finds that Tressidder has even understated rather than exaggerated the material marvels, the telephone being a notable illustration. But, when he studies the government, the church, the press, and society in general, his heart sickens. And here follow his letters, which, as we have observed, constitute one of the most striking satires of modern times.

The English, Callicrates found, were strange people, who constantly did what they decreed should not be done, and practised the opposite of what they professed. On every hand he beheld the most gross and glaring inconsistencies; and, though one of their gods was Common Sense, they constantly exhibited amazing stupidity. One reason for this, however, was explained by a friend with whom he was conversing about

the failure of the citizens of London so to deepen the Thames as to allow vessels to enter without waiting for the tides. His companion pointed out that, instead of placing the management of the river in the hands of one strong central council, fifty different bodies had to be consulted, and they never agreed, so that nothing was done. Then this colloquy follows:

THE GODS OF VESTED INTEREST AND CONSERVATISM.

"But," I replied, greatly marveling thereat, "are not the English practical people, and is not Common Sense one of the greatest of English gods?"

"Yes," said he, "we say so, but we act otherwise. When you say that Common Sense is one of the greatest of our gods, you forget that there is one still greater."

"Which is that?" I said. "The House of Lords?"

My friend laughed and replied: "You say truly, for the House of Lords is one of the many incarnations of the greatest of all our gods. Great is Common Sense, but greater still is Vested Interest, and greater even than Vested Interest is Conservatism."

"I know not the names of either of these strange English gods," said I. "Explain to me their attributes."

"Vested Interest," said he, "is the firstborn son of Conservatism, and the worship of the Father and the Son is almost universal in this island. Vested Interest plants a terribly fixed foot, and wherever he is there he stays, and levies tax and toll on the public. On his first appearance he renders real service to those in the midst of whom he dwells, and they willingly pay him homage and bring sacrifices to his altar; but when the conditions change, and the ancient service has become a present-day nuisance, he still continues to exact his dues. His altars, however, would long ago have been pulled down but for the protection given him by his father Conservatism, the greatest of all the English gods, to whom all the English offer sacrifice. Even those who have repudiated his divine right to govern wrong nevertheless build him a small altar on which they offer sacrifice, it may be in dress, in religion, in business, or in politics. There is no Englishman, high or low, who does not burn some incense on his altars. His worship is ingrained in the very nature of the Englishman. The first article in the creed of his worshipers is that whatever is right; whatever has been must be. As it was in the beginning, and is now, it must ever be. The inspiring principle of the Faith is unfaith, a fear born of unbelief, showing itself in a dread of change. Hence, in all his images his face is ever turned backward."

HOW THE PRINCE OF PEACE IS HEEDED IN WARLIKE ENGLAND.

The missionary had enlarged on Christ's message of peace, and represented England as a nation that was a city set on a hill, illustrating to the world the blessings of peace. But Callicrates found that—

"England was now spending more money every year upon her man-slaying machines on land and sea than any other nation in the world. From every man, woman, and child of the English there is levied, to pay for war and preparations for war, the sum of 70s. every year, which is thrice as much as is paid for all the other services of the Government. Of every pound spent by the English through their Government, 15s. goes for war—past, present, or to come—while only 5s. remains for the services of peace. It is a madness which has smitten the whole people. They spend their money for naught, and waste their resources for that which profiteth not."

## RELIGION IN ENGLAND TO-DAY.

In regard to religion the outlook was quite as amazing. He found that the English had many religions, but not much religion:

"They have many churches, which differ among themselves about many questions of belief and also as to the best method of performing the Temple ritual; but these are only things that they talk about and that they preach about. The real religion of the English is to get on in the world. Their idea of Heaven is to have a good time, and their idea of Hell is failure. This is their practical religion. . . .

"The churches maintained for the worship of Christ are divided about many questions, some of them so minute I am afraid I could not make any Xanthian understand them. Some, for instance, hold that their God would be sore displeased if they did not burn candles in daylight on His altar, while others hold that if they allowed a candle to be lit He would turn away the light of His countenance from them. Again, a great dispute arose about the pattern and the color of the dress in which Christian ministers should appear in church. Some held that their God would not listen to their prayers unless they wore white; others were sure He would be angry unless they wore black. Another long dispute raged, and indeed is still raging, whether incense should be burned in their churches. Over the discussion of these tremendous issues the churches expended immense energy, and developed so much hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness that families have been divided and riots have been caused by differences of opinion as to the use of incense and the cut of a vestment. . . .

"The people who go to church on Sunday call themselves religious. They are a very small section of the nation, not more than one in seven of the whole. The majority of this minority are women. But no woman is allowed to minister in the churches. Nowhere is the dogma of the Divine Right of Man to monopolize all positions of trust and power more religiously enforced. In some of their churches it is even forbidden to the minister to be married to a woman. More than a thousand years ago a Council of the Church decreed that women should neither approach the altar nor arrange anything upon it. It was even ordered that women should only touch the consecrated emblems of salvation with covered hands. Woman was the incarnation of original sin. . . .

"The same curious contrast between their Sunday creed and their weekday practise is to be found in their internal legislation. The only saying of their professed Master which is embodied in their laws is that which speaks of giving to him that hath, and taking from him that has nothing even that which he has. They taxed the poor man's bread to pay the rich man's rent; they gave the man all the property of the woman whom he married, and in defense of their property they hanged the starving man who stole a morsel of bread; while the money left to educate the poor was made over to the sons of the wealthy. Of late years the 'Have Nots,' as they call them, have amended some of these things; but the 'Haves' are all-powerful, and the House of Lords is maintained with absolute power to prevent any insult being offered to the great god Property."

On his return home, Callicrates sums up his impressions of England:

"He had come expecting to find a land in which the Golden Rule was the law of life, where every man did to his brother what he wished his brother to do to him. He had found a land of cut-throat competition, of social caste, and one where internecine feuds raged even within the pale of the Church. He expected to find a sober nation—he found a people sodden with strong drink. He had been told that in England he

would find religion pure and undefiled, and divine worship in primitive simplicity—he had found churches like idolatrous temples, and a proud priesthood arrogating to themselves sacerdotal privileges. He had hoped to find an ideal commonwealth, a social Utopia—he had discovered a minority wallowing in luxury, a majority dehumanized by the conditions of their existence. He had looked to find Woman exalted by her abasement, glorified by her humiliation—he found her everywhere excluded from all that was best worth having, a pariah in Church and State, an alien in the commonwealth, mocked with the homage of lips, but sternly forbidden by the law to share in the government of the realm. Above all, he had hoped to discover a land where the benign rule of the Prince of Peace had given prosperity to the humblest home, and he had found the whole land given up to the worship of the god of War, sacrificing on his blood-stained altar the choicest of their youth and spending in preparation for battle the resources which might have rebuilt their slums and remade man in the image of God."

It was therefore decreed that Tressidder must die, but, as the Queen insisted that he should choose the time and place of his death, he chose to return to England and seek a martyr's fate in attempting to call the nation from her apostasy. The work closes with these lines:

"After they had bidden him a sad farewell, Dione said to Callicrates, 'What will happen to the Teacher when he reaches England?'"

"And Callicrates replied: 'If he preaches Christ's gospel they will kill him as they killed Kensit, or if he pleads for the Prince of Peace they will call him a pro-Boer and kick him to death in the market-place.'"

This is a work that will greatly delight every friend of woman suffrage; and as the satire in most parts is quite as applicable to the United States as to England, it merits wide reading on this side of the Atlantic.

**JONATHAN: A TRAGEDY.** By Thomas Ewing, Jr. Cloth, 148 pp. Price, \$1 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

Mr. Ewing has added a new charm to the ever-beautiful and touching story of David and Jonathan in his long poem, written as it is in excellent blank verse and evincing in places much dramatic power. The author makes no pretense to the splendor of imagination displayed by Milton, nor to the profundity of thought and the compelling power of a Browning. He is content to tell anew the old sweet story of a love greater than the love of woman in a simple, direct, yet fascinating way, investing it with the witchery of the poet's charm, free from inflated or stilted utterances and the artificiality that marks the writings of mere rhymesters. So simple yet beautiful is the tale in the hands of the poet that the reader will be loth to lay down the volume until he has finished the story.

It contains many very touching lines. Here, for example, are the parting words of Jonathan to his wife as he goes forth to death:

"Loved Ahinoam,  
The wife I wedded in my stainless youth,



The dear companion to my plighted vows,  
 Thou hast rejoiced the heart that trusted thee,  
 And done me good, not evil, all our days.  
 Beauty and grace and dignity have clothed thee,  
 And kindness ruled thy life. . . .  
 All that the chastened spirit wants is promised;  
 The eternal God to be thy dwelling-place,  
 And, underneath, the everlasting arms."

Here, too, are some exquisite lines from the last meeting between David and Jonathan, in which the noble son of Saul, with the prescience of approaching death, sees in David the hope of Israel:

"The heavens, indeed, are black! Thy star alone  
 Shines through a rift. Under thy shoulders rests  
 The covenant of God with Israel,  
 The hope of all this world. Through thee must come  
 A universal brotherhood, where now  
 Each man doth turn his arm against his neighbor.  
 Not in all the earth hath one appeared  
 On whom such hope hath rested. Art thou, David,  
 He that should come, or wait we for another?  
 Thy heart—is it so fair as thy fair face?  
 And is thy soul so high as thy great courage?  
 Canst thou upon thy slender body bear  
 The crushing weight of anguish cast on him  
 Whose single life shall change the heart of man?  
 Wilt thou wear out thy life, thy soul, thy heart,  
 Like Moses struggling toward the promised land?  
 Oh, brother! stand for God, though all the herd  
 Shall trample thee to dust, or wife and children—  
 All who may claim a seat beside thy hearth—  
 Shall rend thee. Be a king in deed and truth,  
 Though all thy subjects mock and buffet thee.  
 The wrong may seem to triumph, but the right  
 Is still eternal."

CHILD CULTURE. By N. N. Riddell. Cloth, 229 pp. Price, 65 cents. Chicago: Child of Light Publishing Company.

This is a very thoughtful little work by a scholar who has given long and deep thought to the subject. The treatment is comprehensive and richly suggestive. The hope of our civilization and the future glory of our Republic lie in the spiritual, mental, and physical development of the children. Hence, no subject is more richly worthy of the careful consideration of parents than that with which this little volume deals. One may not at all times agree with Mr. Riddell, but on the whole the book is a valuable contribution to the vital literature of child culture.

A GRAIN OF MADNESS. By Lida A. Churchill. Cloth, 228 pp. Price, \$1.25. New York: The Abbey Press.

In "A Grain of Madness," Miss Churchill, the well-known author of "The Magic Seven," has departed from hackneyed and conventional lines in the treatment of the theme; while its deep human interest and



cleverness, the refinement and deftness with which delicate subjects are handled, and the pure, fine atmosphere of the work give to the novel a peculiar charm. Though permeated with metaphysical, philosophic, and idealistic thought, the story does not suffer from sermonizing, as is the case with most of the New Thought and metaphysical novels that have appeared in recent years.

The chief interest of the romance centers around a priest who has in a passion-swayed hour committed a deed that he cannot undo, but for which through life he seeks to atone; his illegitimate daughter, who becomes a great artist under the tuition of an English painter; a musical genius, and two weirdly interesting children. The scenes of the story lie in a picturesque nook on the coast of Maine and in Italy—chiefly in Rome. Love, suffering, high and lofty aspirations, music, painting, and the exaltation of the spiritual over the physical are here happily woven as threads of many hues into the fabric of a romance that never flags in interest.

The work is pitched in a very high moral key, although we do not agree with the author at all times, as, for example, when she would have us believe that the creations of a genius are weakened by marriage, it proving the source of distraction and division of affection; whereas, if the marriage is one of pure love, we believe it must greatly reinforce genius, adding to the power, richness, and beauty of all its creations. On most points, however, the book rings true. It has a vital moral quality that is not found in most present-day romances; and, if it lacks something of the vividness and power of realistic creations, it is rich in high ideals and suggestive philosophic speculations that will haunt the mind long after the volume has been perused.

**HYPNOTISM AND ITS APPLICATION TO PRACTICAL MEDICINE.** By Otto Georg Wetterstrand, M.D. Authorized Translation from the German, together with Letters on Hypno-Suggestion, by Henrik G. Petersen, M.D. Cloth, 166 pp. Price, \$2 net. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

I know of no work better illustrating the practical value of hypno-suggestion in the treatment of disease than the above volume. Dr. Wetterstrand's work, which has been admirably translated into English by Dr. Petersen, is materially enhanced in value by the supplementary chapters from the pen of the translator.

Dr. Wetterstrand's work differs from the great majority of volumes on hypnotism in that, instead of being chiefly devoted to theoretical discussions and philosophic speculations, it clearly and succinctly sets forth the facts shown by the exhaustive and remarkably successful investigations of Liébeault, Bernheim, and others of the greatest masters in the practical employment of suggestive therapeutics. And the facts are emphasized by the introduction of a great number of cases successfully treated by suggestion, and which clearly show that functional diseases—including neuralgia, insomnia, and nervous prostration—

have been entirely cured by hypno-suggestion after medical treatment had failed to produce the desired results; while this subtle agency has greatly relieved the sufferings of patients afflicted with the gravest organic maladies, such as consumption of the lungs, paralysis, and heart disease.

Volumes like Dr. Wetterstrand's cannot fail to compel the thoughtful attention of even the most superficial and skeptical physicians who measurably desire to utilize in a helpful way the new discoveries that have proved effective in ameliorating and curing disease.

Not the least valuable portion of the volume, however, is found in the extremely thoughtful and suggestive papers by Dr. Petersen, which appear under the titles of "Practical Teachings on the Use of Psychology in Medicine," "Suggestive Treatment in Reform Work," "Post-Hypnotic Responsibility," and "Music, not Sermons, in Insane Hospitals." The first of these papers contains extended and valuable notes from clinical studies with Bernheim, Forel, von Krafft-Ebing, and others. Dr. Petersen has long stood in the front rank of the medical profession of the New World as an authority on hypno-suggestion, and he was also one of the official committee of patronage representing America at the International Congress of Experimental and Therapeutical Hypnotism at Paris in 1900. Years ago he made an exhaustive study of the subject, spending much time at Nancy, under the personal instruction of the greatest masters, and since his return to Boston he has employed hypno-suggestion largely in his extensive practise, with the most gratifying results. He, in common with other scholarly physicians who have successfully employed this agent, has found it extremely valuable in overcoming unfortunate moral tendencies and in curing drunkenness and other drug appetites. His discussions of the subjects in the above chapters, based as they are on knowledge largely derived from personal experience, are in themselves an extremely important contribution to the literature of hypno-suggestion.

This book is one that we can conscientiously recommend to physicians and others desiring better information regarding the practical value of hypno-suggestion as a therapeutic agent. In a new book on medical psychology, which is shortly to appear, Dr. Petersen treats the subject at greater length.

**SCIENTIFIC SIDELIGHTS.** Compiled by James C. Fernald. Cloth, 917 pp. Price, \$5.00 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

This is a large and carefully compiled volume in which thousands of topics are treated, not after the manner of the encyclopedia, but by succinct quotations from great thinkers and recognized authorities in the world of research. Thus at a glance, and without the time and labor necessary to peruse a large volume, the views of the greatest authorities are found in quotations of from two to four inches in length.

There is much to be said in favor of this method of direct quota-

tion, and yet it has its disadvantages, not the least of which is the possibility of conveying the conclusions of a thinker less accurately than would be given in a brief digest of his views; for such quotations as are here given must necessarily be very incomplete expressions, and are frequently subject to important modifications in preceding or succeeding paragraphs. For busy students whose opportunities preclude comprehensive research on various scientific and philosophic subjects this volume will doubtless prove a great aid. The quotations seem to have been made with great care and excellent discrimination. The compiler has endeavored to utilize whatever could most vitally illuminate intellectual, moral, political, and religious truths among the works of those whom conventional society esteems as the most authoritative thinkers.

The arrangement leaves little to be desired, as every citation is accompanied by the name of the author, the work from which the quotation is made, chapter and page, and the publisher of the book; while the four full indices, under the headings of "General Topics," "Cross References," "Proper Names," and "Authors and Publishers," will enable the reader immediately to find any subject desired. It is a book that will appeal especially to ministers, lecturers, and teachers.

**THESE ARE MY JEWELS.** By Stanley Waterloo. Cloth, 232 pp.  
Price, \$1. Chicago: Coolidge & Waterloo.

Stanley Waterloo's latest work, "These are My Jewels," is one of the most healthful and helpful volumes for children that have appeared in months. The book is published without illustrations and is plainly bound, but the contents, which are supposed to be the work of a little girl of eleven years, concern the doings and sayings of her father, mother, Uncle Fred, her brother, and her playmates. The telling of the story is so artless and natural that it will delight any normal child, while the volume is rich in wholesome thoughts for the young, so stated that they cannot fail to sink into the child's mind with the details of the narration and helpfully influence life. A pretty little love story connected with the uncle constitutes one charming feature of the volume. The more books of this kind can be substituted for the old-time nonsensical child stories, the better for the oncoming civilization.



#### LITERARY NOTES.

"BEHOLD THE MAN" is the title of a short story, by Channing Pollock (cloth; The Neale Pub. Co., Washington, D. C.), dealing with the Passion Play of Oberammergau. In it the girl selected for the Virgin has been wronged by a man whose identity is unknown. She is refused the part. When the person who has assumed the rôle of the Christ is on the cross he is accused by the girl, who, frantic with

her humiliation and disgrace, cries, "Behold the man!" The story is well written and wrought out with much power.

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"How to Control Fate Through Suggestion" is the title of a pamphlet (price 25 cents; the Now Pub. Co., San Francisco) by Henry Harrison Brown. The author attempts to prove that the future progress of civilization depends chiefly on the knowledge of the psychic laws and the utilization of the finer vibrations of the universe. He holds that through this knowledge man may not only master disease, but secure business success and happiness. The author also gives rules and suggestions for those who would succeed through calling to their aid the latent powers of the thought-world.



#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Poems of the Heart." By T. F. Hildreth, A.M., D.D. Cloth, 176 pp. Norwalk, Ohio: The Laning Company.

"The Lovers' World: A Wheel of Life." By Alice B. Stockham, M.D. Cloth, 470 pp. Price, \$2.25. Chicago: Stockham Pub. Co.

"The Next Step in Evolution." By Isaac K. Funk, D.D., LL.D. Cloth, 106 pp. Price, 50 cents net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

"The Vital Touch." Poems. By Victor E. Southworth. Cloth, 48 pp. Published by the author at Denver, Colo.

"What is Spiritualism, and Who Are These Spiritualists?" By J. M. Peebles, M.D., M.A. Cloth, 131 pp. Battle Creek, Mich.: The Peebles Print.

## NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

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THE amount of space occupied by the leading article in this issue of THE ARENA compels the withholding of three others that were announced for insertion this month. The appearance of this feature is itself somewhat belated, as its publication was arranged for several months ago; yet as a review and epitome of the progress of statutory law during recent periods it is a most timely contribution to popular knowledge. This is ordinarily a "dry" topic, but as discussed by Chief Justice Clark it is seen to have a most interesting and progressive aspect, and is thus thoroughly in line with the spirit and purpose of this magazine. The principle of *growth* is irresistibly active throughout the whole of Nature's domain, and it is not less evident in the realm of pure intellect than in any other factor of civilization. It is on an instinctive reliance upon this truth that the most encouraging hopes of all genuine reformers are based.

Another important article of unusual length for which room has been made in this number is Editor Flower's "Giuseppe Mazzini," the first of a series on "Nineteenth Century Apostles of Progress." This month's paper will be followed by "The Message of Mazzini," containing a digest of the Italian patriot's gospel gleaned from his voluminous writings, with special reference to those portions that apply with the greatest force and significance to the demands of the present time.

The Direct Legislation movement, to which considerable attention was paid by THE ARENA's February contributors, and which during the last few weeks has made great strides under the guidance of its recognized leaders and of the American Federation of Labor, will receive fresh impetus from Mr. U'Ren's article in this issue on "The Initiative and Referendum in Oregon." A movement backed by a million organized laborers in a single country assumes commanding importance

by reason of that fact alone. No one is better fitted to speak on Oregon's great victory for Direct Legislation than our contributor, to whose intelligent and energetic work it was largely due; and his description of the methods pursued is commended to all friends of this fundamental reform as well as to the managers of the campaign.

The "Hebrew" and "negro" questions are the two race problems that persist in defiance of all religious and political changes. That the former is very largely one of economics is clearly shown in Mr. Richards's article on "Zionism and Socialism," which is the outcome of personal study and impartial observation on the part of a trained New York journalist. But in Dr. Keyser's story of "The Impassable Gulf," also in this number, it is seen that the matter of "color" has a deeper and more vital relation to the social problem than any question of ethics, commercial procedure, or political opportunity can possibly have. This writer is the well-known author of "Birds of the Rockies," "In Bird Land," and other interesting and instructive works.

Our "Conversation" with Henrik G. Petersen, M.D., is among the most important of the series of interviews with prominent persons that is one of THE ARENA's unique and most popular features. The question of suggestive therapeutics is entirely separable from the vagaries and abuses of hypnotism, and the real value and possibilities of the practise as a branch of modern medicine are explained by Dr. Petersen in the modest but lucid way that characterizes the master of any subject. He studied the question for several years in France, and is a thinker, a scholar, and a linguist capable of reading the German, French, and Norwegian scientific publications in the original—a great advantage to a student of psychology.

In addition to the articles by Dr. Berdan, Mr. Gibson, and Mr. Bennett that have been crowded out of this issue, The April ARENA will contain a timely paper on "Modern Dramatic Realism," by Mrs. Fannie Humphreys Gaffney, "A Study in Advertising," by Henry C. Sheaffer, and other essays of up-to-date importance and suggestiveness.

J. E. M.